

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. X.

FEBRUARY, 1927

No. 2

Editorial

Now Is the Time to Stop the Next War!

AS these words are being written fears are everywhere being expressed that war with Mexico is altogether probable. There are, however, some indications of a popular protest of such volume as to stay the hand of the war-makers at Washington and elsewhere.

If the citizens of the country are not stupid beyond belief and criminally negligent of their public duty, they will vigorously oppose the supremely dangerous tactics thus far displayed by our Government in dealing with the Mexican and Nicaraguan crises, and compel a drastic reversal of policy. The Administration is revealing the same blindness, recklessness and arrogance which were exhibited by the statesmen of Europe in those tragic days of 1914. The cry of the people for peaceable negotiation must be lifted now, or before many days pass the propaganda of the war-makers will have created an inflamed mob howling for war.

The issue at stake is far more significant than the question of war or peace with Mexico. The future of our foreign policy and of our relations with the rest of the world is in the balance. No citizen of this country should overlook the ominous significance of these words from President Coolidge's message to Congress on January 10th:

"It has always been and remains the policy of the United States in such circumstances to take the steps that may be necessary for the preservation and protection of the lives, the property, and the interests of its citizens and of this government itself. In this respect I propose to follow the path of my predecessors. Consequently I have deemed it my duty to use the powers committed to me to insure the adequate protection of all American interests in Nicaragua, whether they be endangered by internal strife or by outside interference in the affairs of that republic."

IF our Government is committed irrevocably to the policy of safeguarding the property and interests of its citizens in foreign countries against internal strife and outside interference by taking "the steps that may be necessary," that is with marines and gunboats, or with army and navy, then our children are certain to be the victims of another great war, even if we ourselves are fortunate enough to die before the storm breaks.

We are getting deeper and deeper into the bog of imperialism. Already we have property and interests at stake in almost every country on earth. By 1950 we shall probably have 50 billion dollars invested in foreign lands. Competition with other powers over raw materials, markets and investment fields is becoming increasingly bitter. Thus early in our career as an imperialist power we are a source of great fear and suspicion to many peoples. There is a rising tide of hatred against us in Latin America, in Europe and in Asia.

Because of our present economic security the ruthless exercise of armed force might bring no im-

mediate resistance strong enough to threaten our material well-being. But tyrants cannot rule forever without challenge. And even if we could—what sincere American would not hang his head in shame at the prospect of our playing such a role?

Although we have entered upon not a few imperialistic projects to the southward since the early plotting over the Panama Canal, the traditions and opinions of our people have pointed until recent years in a very different direction. Our own Declaration of Independence served to inspire with ideals of human freedom many of the Latin American republics justly outraged at our present policies.

It is not yet too late. In a failure of the public to protest every imperialist move lies the greatest danger that we face. If we wish to stop the next war, now is the time!



DEEPER AND DEEPER

—From N. Y. World, January 12, 1927

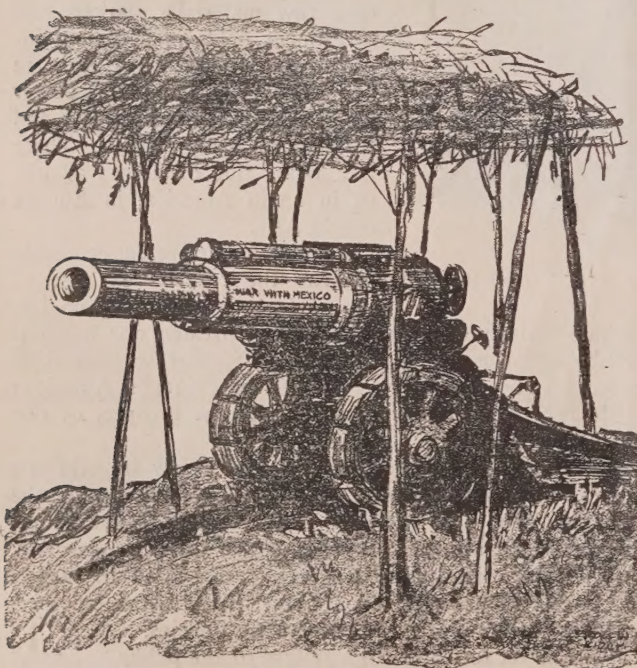
Comments on Our Imperialism

By virtue of the memorandum on Communism in Latin America which he has submitted to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Secretary Kellogg has gone over to the war party which now dominates the State Department. Mr. Kellogg is an amiable, nervous, ill-informed and inadequate old gentleman who has not the strength of mind or the strength of character to resist the terrific pressure now being exerted to bring about a rupture with Mexico, the overthrow of Calles and the establishment through armed intervention, if necessary, of a Government in Mexico that will submit to the domination of American and other foreign interests. The war party is almost in control.

The Kellogg memorandum on Bolshevism was written by a man who set out deliberately to poison the mind of the American people. Assuming that the American people are incapable of seeing through a tissue of misrepresentation, assuming that the American press is edited by men without a sense of responsibility, the official author of this document set out to make the American people think that the Mexican Government is directed from Moscow. The theory is that if once the American people can be made to believe this there will be universal approval for the hostile measures that are contemplated.

Contemptible as the document is in its spirit, its purpose, its substance and its reasoning, it is necessary to pause over it and analyze the character of the evidence on which the Secretary of State has put his seal.

—From N. Y. World



CAMOUFLAGED

—From N. Y. World, January 14, 1927

If the American people want peace, they cannot afford to wait until they have become entangled in Mexico, as they are already entangled in Nicaragua. They must act now before the fatal decisions are taken, before the war psychology is aroused and men cease to be reasonable.

The stage is set for very serious things, and if the American people want peace they will have to begin to fight for it now. They cannot trust either to the good intentions or to the wisdom of the State Department. For the State Department is clearly and unmistakably looking for trouble.

—From N. Y. World



PORTRAIT OF AN AMERICAN IMPERIALIST

—From N. Y. World, December 29, 1926

Romain Rolland's letter read in part as follows:

"I join heartily in your meeting of protest against the invasion of Nicaragua. It forms part of a long premeditated plan of Yankee imperialism by which the United States hope to seize the entire American continent. And if ever the plan is realized, it will be the end of liberty for the rest of the world. But it will not succeed.

"There exists today the conscience of humanity, which, slowly formed in all the countries on earth, has made all peoples realize their solidarity, and when one of them suffers a blow the whole body of humanity trembles.

"The political crime of which Nicaragua is the victim is not only one which imperialism has cooked up today. There are others in China, Syria and in all the corners of the world. But the crime against Nicaragua is most urgently calling for denunciation."

—From N. Y. Times

"The Star-Spangled Banner is fast becoming the symbol of a nation of prey for the descendants of Bolivar. America is assuming a position similar to that of Germany before the war."

—From La Liberté

A Pretty Good Job

LEWIS S. GANNETT

THE United States has a pretty good record to show for its quarter century in the Philippines. It has come near to having a glorious record.

I omit the early days. I bar the question whether we ever had any right to do anything at all there, good or bad. And I begin this chronicle with the end of the Filipino insurrection, when the water cure had been put aside and we began to build up a civil government. It was on September 1, 1900, that civil government under William Howard Taft nominally succeeded the military regime; on April 19, 1901, General Aguinaldo was betrayed into surrender, ending the Filipino resistance; and on July 1, 1902, the United States Congress passed the organic act which is still in part the basic law of the Philippines¹.

In the subsequent years the Filipino people has undergone an intensive course in self-government for which there is hardly a parallel in colonial history. The Americans encouraged Filipino nationalism; they worked (at first) to unite a people which had too many remnants of insular differences; they educated their wards to believe that no people worth its salt would long accept alien rule.

It is illuminating to listen to Filipino independence orators. Even when addressing their own people they speak in terms of the American struggle for independence from Great Britain. They quote Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson. It often seemed to me as I listened to them in Manila that the young generation had forgotten that they had a long, honorable history of their own of revolt against Spain and war against the United States. Spontaneously they talked in the terms which they had learned at school—in schools which were at first patterned with ridiculous uniformity after the American pattern. We sent them American textbooks wholesale—and they absorbed the moral and applied it to their own situation. Every pupil in the Filipino schools, if he stays long enough, is taught to read President Eliot's verdict that the five great American contributions to civilization are: Political democracy, racial equality, religious tolerance, material well-being and arbitration of international differences. It is a good lesson, even if General Wood and the American business men in the islands were not brought up on it.

In those first organization years much was accomplished, and Americans planned and, at first, executed it. The public-school system was established²; 5,000 schools were opened and 400,000 children enrolled; a census was taken; the judicial system was organized and a procedure adopted which facilitated the orderly conduct of business; the currency was regulated, the health service was rebuilt; in general, the administrative basis was laid for a working modern government.

And then, in 1907, we started out on a path from which

¹ The limitations upon purchase and lease of public lands, against which American rubber interests protest so violently, in fact date back to this American-made organic law.

² Santo Tomas University in Manila is older than Harvard, but the common school is a recent introduction.

there can be no turning without acute trouble. We started in with Filipinization. The governmental system ceased to be a pure benevolent dictatorship; the Filipinos thenceforth elected the lower house of the legislature. It was, of course, not altogether a harmonious experiment; three times in nine years the two houses (the upper was American) could not agree on the appropriation bill, and the Government had to carry on according to the previous year's bill. It was, however, a period of steady material progress. Roads, markets, schoolhouses were built; the land survey began its work, which still drags on; artesian wells were driven. Filipinos were trained to fill the minor posts of government. By 1916 only 28 per cent of officialdom was American—but it included virtually all of the executives.

UNDER Governor Harrison, President Wilson's appointee, came the aggressive era of Filipinization. In his seven years in office he raised the percentage of Filipino officials from 72 to 96. He believed that self-government was more important than hundred-per-cent efficiency; he felt that the Filipinos would have to learn by making some of their own mistakes; and he deliberately accepted the Filipino political leaders as his chief advisers. Early in his term came the Jones Bill, still the charter of the island government, under which both houses of the Legislature are elected by the Filipinos and have "general legislative powers" for the archipelago. The Governor General still names a few representatives for the backward provinces and has the power of veto. The act vests in him "supreme executive power."

Under the Harrison regime of essential self-government the Filipinos made two notable changes in policy. They doubled the appropriation for education, so that today more than a million children are in the public schools. And they undertook a policy of state control and encouragement of the economic resources of the islands, buying out the British-owned railroad, establishing the Philippine National Bank, and investing government funds in sugar centrals, coal mines, and a cement plant. Taxation and expenditures increased; more wells were dug, more buildings built; until the crisis of 1920-21 things went well—with, perhaps, the exception of public health. Filipinization of the public-health service had brought a lapse from the high standard maintained by the American doctors. Vaccination against smallpox was allowed to lag. In 1918 and 1919, when the Western world was suffering from its appalling epidemic of influenza, the Philippine Islands had their plagues too; the death rate from cholera and smallpox leaped upward, and rinderpest claimed a growing total among the Philippine cattle. Stricter health measures, under American direction, brought the mortality rates down again.

In the crisis of 1920-21 the Islands went broke; the National Bank was virtually bankrupt and the currency fell. Sugar—which accounts for nearly a third of Philippine exports—lost two-thirds of its value in a year; hemp, copra, coconut oil—which account between them for more than

another third—lost nearly half their value. Every native bank in the sugar republic of Cuba went into a moratorium at that time; naturally Philippine banks, which had made loans on the old sugar prices, were hamstrung. There was un-wisdom in their management, there was nepotism and corruption—but the Filipinos recall that one of the worst failures of the bank occurred in the Shanghai branch, managed entirely by Americans.

In assessing the value of American rule in the Philippines one important fact is often forgotten; the Philippines have paid for themselves from the start. What "America has done for the Philippines" has been done for pay. Early in the century we gave the islands \$3,000,000 for famine relief. The cost of our military and naval establishment in the islands is of course borne by the American taxpayer. We also bear a share of the cost of the lighthouse service. That is all. For the rest we may claim credit for efficiency, but it has been no burden to us. It has cost us next to nothing.

THERE has been a change of policy under Governor Wood, although it has been overstressed. He believes that efficiency requires more American control. There has been a conflict over the interpretation of those conflicting terms in the Jones Bill—"supreme executive power" and "general legislative powers." General Wood assumed more authority than Governor Harrison had felt justified under the Jones Bill, and he asked the American Congress to grant him still more. Congress has not done so. Essentially the process of preparation in self-government has continued. The overwhelming proportion of the work of governing the islands is done by Filipinos, under Filipino executives—short of the Governor General. All of the cabinet officers are Filipinos (although Governor Wood has a set of extra-legal military aides and advisers); the forty-odd provincial governors, with three exceptions, are Filipinos. And that, growing out of military dictatorship in a quarter of a century, seems to me the greatest American contribution to the Filipinos. We have talked self-government to them, trained them for self-government, turned over their own government—most of it—to the Filipinos. If we are troubled today by clamors for "immediate, absolute, and unconditional independence" the clamor is of our own making, and hitherto, at least, it has been a clamor based on faith in American ideals.

The school system, ardently supported by the Filipinos, is in the main a creation of American educators, a copy of the American public-school system. It has been severely criticized of late by American educators. Unquestionably it has not been moulded sufficiently to the peculiar needs of the islands; unquestionably, too, the instruction in the English language is deficient. I am inclined to think that the immediate attempt to introduce English, a totally alien tongue, as the universal language of the islands was a mistake. Spanish was the common tongue of the educated Filipinos (it is well to remember that the Philippines had a cultured class before our arrival), and children returning from school would have found parents with at least a smattering of that tongue to encourage them. As it is, many children go to school for all too short a time, acquire a vague understanding of English, go home, never use it, and forget it. Yet it is too late to turn back. English has already

outdistanced Spanish, and the various native dialects could hardly be as serviceable (apart from the jealousies which the selection of any one might entail) as a Western tongue which can serve as a bridge to the outside world. English is beginning to unify the islands; and if Governor Wood's ideas for the use of radio are developed English may spread at an unprecedented rate. The literacy of the islands is already above 40 per cent, according to Governor Wood's estimate, and close to 70 per cent, according to Filipino reckonings—and it is steadily moving upward. Probably the islands would be better off today if the Filipinos, under the Harrison regime, had not been so eager to weed out the American instructors; probably, too, they would never have been so eager to do so had not so many of the instructors betrayed the Nordic vice of racial arrogance.

FEW people realize the extent to which the inertia and unproductivity of tropical peoples are due to preventable disease; yet the Panama record stands clear, and the Philippine story points in the same direction. Year by year the morbidity rate has declined; probably no comparable area has better health conditions. For that American medical men are largely responsible. The leper colony at Culion is one of the show places of the islands. There leprosy has been studied and solved. There is nothing in the world to equal it; it has actually discharged several hundred patients—the first lepers cured in history. Probably the Filipinos undervalue all this sanitary work. "Why," they ask, "should we, a poor, little people, pay for the finest leprosy experiment station in the world? It is good work, but too expensive for us."

American sanitary engineers are largely responsible for the present healthfulness of Manila, once a pest-hole, just as American engineers have given Manila her up-to-date port facilities and built some of the best roads in the islands. Here, again, one meets the racial divergency. The Filipinos would be content with cheaper, poorer roads; and they still have a measure of Oriental indifference to the ultimate saving of careful upkeep. And the pride of the Americans—the winding road up to Baguio, the summer capital on a pine mountain, whither the Americans flee in hot weather—seems to them an utter waste.

Here and there in the system of administration one meets curious incidents of American genius. In the early days an army officer who knew about the George Junior Republic devised an insular prison system ahead of anything to be found in the United States. A blue-eyed fanatic from Wisconsin is giving his life to promotion of an honest rural-credit system. The Bureau of Science is full of passionate Americans spending their lives for the islands—largely unappreciated.

ECONOMICALLY, American business methods have undoubtedly helped the islands. American support of their credit has meant a considerable saving in interest on their loans; but the American tariff may prove to have been a curse. Included in our national free-trade area, the American proportion of their trade has grown in thirty years from 6 to 55 per cent. When given independence, presumably, they will lose this artificial advantage, and the necessary readjustment will be a serious problem. It will,

on the other hand, bring an enormous increase of revenue when American goods entering the islands become subject to tariff duties.

American army officers have built up the efficient constabulary police system which has kept order in the islands with remarkably little bloodshed. Many Americans feel that our country also deserves credit for protecting the Philippines from aggressors. Yet Spain fought for three hundred years to gain a firm control of the islands, never quite succeeding, and no other Power seriously threatened her weak control in the later years until the United States came along, ousted Spain, and set about destroying the

nascent Philippine Republic. On the topic of defense against aggression Americans may well remain silent.

It is, on the whole, a story of interested, efficient administration, with an ideal behind it. It has very considerable material achievements to its credit. But towering above any of these is the unprecedented record of a Great Power training a retarded people in self-government, and by steady, successive steps eliminating its own outside control. Almost a glorious record; but the glory has always been shadowed by a noisy commercial minded minority and it is very much dimmed by our present refusal to fulfill our pledge.

The Danger of Drifting

KIRBY PAGE

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE recently transmitted to Congress the report of Colonel Carmi A. Thompson on the Philippine Islands. Colonel Thompson went to the Far East as the personal representative of the President, generously giving his services without cost and paying his own expenses.

His report is a document of extreme significance. It is moderate and conciliatory in tone and makes a number of constructive suggestions, notably the one recommending the replacement of military officials by a civil administration. No intelligent observer is surprised that he opposes immediate independence, as his position on this subject was well known before he started his investigation.

In spite of the dispassionate and judicial tone of Colonel Thompson's report, it appears to me to be a very dangerous document, for the following reasons: first, if his suggestions are accepted by Congress, the setting of a fixed date for the complete independence of the Philippines will be indefinitely postponed, with the result that the United States will become more and more deeply entrenched in the Islands; second, further delay in granting independence and further economic and political encroachment on our part will greatly intensify the bitterness of the Filipinos and will accentuate the fears and suspicions of other Far Eastern peoples toward us; third, retention of the Philippines tends to blind us to the dangers of imperialism and nullifies any effort on our part to aid in abolishing dangerous imperialistic practices of other nations; and fourth, the Colonel's report tends to obscure other possibilities than indefinite retention of the Islands or setting the Filipinos adrift in a stormy sea.

I

The most effective way to insure the permanent occupation of the Philippines is to postpone independence "for some time to come," without setting a future date or specifying the conditions which must be met. Since we secured the Islands each succeeding President—McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge—has made definite promises of ultimate independence. In the very beginning President McKinley said: "The Philippines are ours not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us."

Early in the World War, Theodore Roosevelt, then out of office, said emphatically that he thought conditions were such that independence should shortly be granted. In 1916 Congress definitely promised independence as soon as "a stable government can be established." In 1920 President Wilson in his message to Congress said: "I respectfully submit that this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those Islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet."

The fact which needs emphasis at this time is that the Filipinos are much further away from independence today than they were in 1916 or 1920. If the advice of Colonel Thompson is followed and we retain control until "the Filipinos are fully prepared for complete self-government," we will not give them independence for at least a century. As a matter of fact no people on earth fully meets this condition. Even a casual reader of current newspapers and periodicals in this country can scarcely fail to be impressed by the widespread propaganda against independence.

Our need for crude rubber and other raw materials is vitally affecting our national attitude toward the Islands. Even in Colonel Thompson's cautiously worded report we find significant references to "vast natural resources and remarkable advantages in geographical location, soil, climate, timber, mineral deposits and water power. . . . the Islands have great possibilities in mining. . . . Within a comparatively short time the Philippines should be able to supply the United States with a large part of its requirements of rubber, coffee, camphor, pineapples, lumbang, hardwood lumber and many other tropical commodities. . . . There are approximately 1,500,000 acres of land suitable for the production of rubber, and in some respects this acreage is better suited for the purpose than land now producing rubber in Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. . . . It will probably be necessary to encourage the development of a few larger estates. . . . *We need the Philippines as a commercial base.*"

If our economic penetration continues for another two or three decades the Filipinos will cry in vain for complete independence. Therefore, those Americans who believe in

ultimate independence must act quickly if the Filipinos are ever to be set free of our rule.

II

Numerous witnesses bear testimony to the increasing tension between the Filipinos and our representatives in the Islands. Colonel Thompson himself says: "The political problem has two principal phases: First, a widespread and insistent agitation for immediate, absolute and complete independence; second, a deadlock between the Governor-General and the Legislature." Year after year the Filipino Legislature votes *unanimously* for independence, and almost every year an independence commission journeys to Washington to present this demand for freedom. It is frequently asserted that this action is the result of the agitation of a few Filipino politicians. By the simple process of a referendum it would be possible to ascertain the wishes of the voters with regard to this important question. The policy of drifting will gain us little but suspicion, fear and bitterness from these people.

Moreover this question has much wider implications. All over the Far East there is a rising tide of resentment and hostility toward the peoples of the West. In China, Japan, India and elsewhere the domination and exploitation—political and economic—of brown and yellow peoples by Europeans and Americans is being resisted with increasing bitterness. The relations between the Orient and the Occident are steadily getting worse. The policy of force has already broken down in China, is functioning very badly in India and is more and more dangerous everywhere in the East. If we stay in the Philippines against the wishes of the Filipinos, we will simply pour oil on the flames of Oriental hatred.

III

The campaign for the indefinite retention of the Islands, exaggerating as it does the deficiencies and excesses of the Filipinos and overstating the benefits of our administration, tends to blind our citizens to the perils of political and economic imperialism. So effective has this propaganda been that most Americans know almost nothing of the evil side of our record in the Philippines.

Moreover, as long as we retain the Philippines we are inhibited from making any effectual protest against the forcible domination and exploitation of backward peoples by France, Great Britain or other imperialistic powers. Furthermore, we shall continue to constitute a barrier to the effective functioning of the mandate system, the fundamental ideas of which are service to the weak by the strong and *responsibility* of the trustee not only to these peoples but to the public opinion of the world.

IV

Throughout his report Colonel Thompson seems to be laboring under the delusion that only two courses are open to us: to retain the Islands indefinitely or to cut loose from them entirely. For example he says: "The Philippines lack the financial resources necessary to maintain an independent government," that is to say the Filipinos lack funds with which to maintain an army and navy. But why should they bankrupt themselves to maintain an army and navy? Few, if any, nations in the world can protect themselves ade-

quately by armaments. Moreover it is admitted that the Navy of the United States would not be able to save the Filipinos from a well planned attack by Japan. President Roosevelt pointed this out long ago and it is admitted by naval authorities. The truth is that security cannot be achieved by armaments. Why not look elsewhere?

Colonel Thompson also says: "The granting of complete and immediate independence would end the free trade relationship" between the two countries and "would bring about economic disaster for the Philippines." Why not continue free trade after independence? If it is now beneficial to them and to us, why not continue it by treaty agreement? If the Filipinos need and are now being benefited by the activities of our educators, doctors, engineers, and business men, why not continue to make available these services?

MORE than two courses are open to us. Personally I am strongly opposed to the indefinite retention of the Philippines and I am equally opposed to pulling out and leaving them to their fate. Why not follow a course somewhat as follows?

1. Have Congress set a definite date, not more than ten years distant, when the Islands will be given absolute freedom and independence.
2. Negotiate treaties with Japan, Great Britain, Holland and other powers guaranteeing the integrity and independence of the Philippines.
3. Negotiate an outlawry of war treaty with these countries, agreeing never to go to war over the Islands.
4. Participate in the creation and strengthening of permanent agencies for the peaceable settlement of any disputes that may arise between ourselves and the Filipinos or with other nations, as was so effectively done by France and Germany at Locarno.
5. Negotiate commercial treaties with the Filipinos, continuing any agreements now in force that are mutually advantageous to both countries and widening these agreements wherever they are inadequate.
6. Stand ready to respond to any appeal the Filipinos may make for trained men and women from this country to work with them as educators, doctors, sanitary experts, jurists or administrators.

To carry out the recommendations of the Thompson report will insure the perpetuation of many of the most dangerous phases of political and economic imperialism and will make of us a formidable barrier to international understanding and cooperation. A more excellent way is open to us: to accept the principle of complete independence for the Philippines and to devote ourselves resolutely to the task of bringing this to pass at a definite date in the near future.

General Smedley Butler, at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon in Helena, Montana, said that when he receives a communication from a civilian it is necessary for an officer to read between the lines. He used as an illustration: "If I get word that so-and-so in such a State is not a desirable president, but that we must do nothing unconstitutional, I read: 'Get him out and so-and-so in.' I and the marines have conducted five successful presidential elections in Central America."

Independence—Today, Tomorrow or Never?

JEREMIAH W. JENKS

I.

SHALL the United States carry out the wishes of the mass of the Filipino people or the wishes of a relatively few Filipino politicians?

It was the first thought that the United States had in mind when it took over the Philippine Islands from Spain and pledged itself to govern them for the good of the Filipino people themselves. In other words, it was to be a government of the Filipinos for the Filipinos; when and to what extent and under what conditions the government was to be by the Filipinos was to be a matter left to the future, and the United States government was itself to be the judge, not the relatively few Filipino politicians. They have too great a personal, immediate interest in the subject to enable them to form an unprejudiced opinion.

II.

THE Filipinos are an ignorant people. In spite of the alleged fact that something over 40 percent. of the population can either read or understand English, according to the newspapers themselves the newspapers in English, Spanish or dialects are read by only 150,000 people out of some 12,000,000; and most of the people, therefore, are able to get their information only from the Filipino politicians. Moreover, the people who were adults at the time American occupation began have never learned to read unless they knew how before. Even the school children, who have learned to read in English, have since the beginning of the Wilson administration been left largely under the influence of Filipino teachers, whose judgments are largely formed and whose course is practically guided by the Filipino politicians.

III.

MOREOVER, even those who do understand the situation dare not under present conditions speak what they think. It is a well-known fact that when the higher American officials went about the islands in their investigations, they were given many public receptions and balls (*bailes*). In preparation for these balls, the *caciques* (local people of influence) were in the habit of ordering the poor people to bring in chickens and food of different kinds, to wait on the tables and assist in every way possible. They were not paid for this work or for the articles that they furnished. In the earlier days the *caciques* got credit for everything. The people were substantially in a condition of slavery, but they did not object. They had always been used to dealings of this kind and did not know any better. In many of the remoter parts of the Islands, conditions still remain the same. In others, the *caciques* do not give to the people any opportunity of expressing their views.

IV.

THE views of Americans are likely to be gained in the same prejudiced way, as the politicians are anxious naturally to have their views, and their views only, known to Americans. A Filipino business man, a wholesale merchant in Manila, said: "I complain that America learns about Philippine affairs only from American politicians, who get their information from Filipino politicians. And politicians belong to no country, but are a curse common to all, concerned with nothing, anywhere, but their own personal advancement."

V.

EVEN the leading politicians themselves, when they are not talking for publication and do not expect to be quoted, express views very different from those that are given by them to the public. I myself when in the Philippine Islands some ten years ago had an experience that I have heard is duplicated by many other Americans. The Jones Bill was under consideration in Washington and it was reported in Manila, on the authority of the American government as well as the Filipino representative, that this bill was likely to pass with the Clark amendment. It will be recalled that the Clark amendment provided for the withdrawal of the American troops, government, and so far as possible American influence, in not less than two and not more than four years. When the news came to the Islands there was great alarm. Not only Americans who were property holders but even leading Filipino property owners offered their places for sale at bargain prices. They felt that pure Filipino rule spelled disaster and they were anxious to get rid of their property before that time came.

I myself had a talk with one of the leading Filipino politicians. We were alone. Among other things I asked him if he would favor the Jones Bill with the Clark amendment. He said that he would, that he had gotten and held his position on the issue of independence, that very many of the common people did not understand by independence what he did; they must have something that was called independence even if it did go too far; that apparently they could get from the United States nothing short of the Clark amendment, and rather than get nothing, he said, "I would take the Clark amendment and then I should rely upon the kindness, the spirit of longsuffering and patience that the American people have always shown us, to see to it that before the four years were up the Americans would find a way either to repeal the act or *not* to enforce it." He clearly recognized that the withdrawal of the Americans would be nothing less than disastrous to the Filipinos, but he felt that under the circumstances he must take the

risk, trusting the Americans to violate their promise for the good of the Filipinos.

I repeat that I have heard of other Filipino politicians of the highest rank saying confidentially that they believed that complete independence would be a great calamity to the great mass of the Filipino people; and when they were asked what would happen if these views were expressed in public, they responded, "You may go into the streets and say this if you like. You are an American; I am a Filipino. I will go out immediately afterward and deny it, and my word will be believed, not yours."

VI.

THE Filipinos have had some experience of what might be expected from Filipino rule. When under the Wilson administration Mr. Francis Burton Harrison was sent to the Islands as governor-general, he attempted in all seriousness to Filipinize the Islands. At the beginning of his administration there were 2,623 Americans in the civil service of the Islands. At the end of his administration there were but 614, a loss of 2,009. In the meantime, there were at the beginning 6,363 Filipinos in the service; at the end, 13,240; an increase of almost 7,000. During this period the cost of operating the executive departments of the government had swollen from \$10,454,506 to \$16,734,955. In very many instances men of prominence were dismissed with scant courtesy and little care for the results beyond Filipinization.

During my first visit to the Philippines in 1902, there was an epidemic of cholera, deaths occurring in large numbers every day in Manila and in the other centers of population. The Americans offered free any quantity of distilled water provided the Filipinos would come to the ice plant and get it as the Americans all did. The Filipinos had processions in the streets to overcome the plague. There were sold at the church in the poorer quarters of the city printed prayers asking for delivery from the plague, one of which I bought. In the outlying districts I myself saw before the houses to ward off the plague halves of coconut shells with ashes in them where prayers and other petitions had been burned (*anting-anting*). The Filipinos had no knowledge of sanitary methods. Their treatments were mere superstition.

Under American administration rigid measures were taken. The *nipa* shacks in certain poorer quarters of the city were burned and rigid rules were enforced. The consequence was that in spite of the superstitious hostility of the Filipinos the cholera epidemic was stamped out and vigilant watch prevented its return, so that under the American administration there was practically no further cholera. Under the Harrison administration, however, it broke out again. In 1919-20 there were 22,657 deaths from that dread disease. The same things might be said with reference to small-pox, which in 1912 was reduced to 700 deaths for the Island archipelago, but again broke out in the Harrison administration, so that in 1919, 126,369 cases appeared, with 59,926 deaths, an appalling record of carelessness and inefficiency. Likewise the rinderpest among the cattle.

Similar statements might be made regarding the schools and their efficiency, although the schools have been on the

whole probably the most note-worthy success that has remained.

The Philippine National Bank was created in 1916 under Governor-General Harrison. After being administered by Americans for about two years, the Filipinos took possession of the bank. From that time on a small Filipino politician took charge of an institution handling and investing \$150,000,000 of values. Loans were made to the directors, contrary to law, and the final report of Haskins and Sells showed that the bank had been operated "in violation of every principle which prudence, intelligence, or even honesty could dictate." This report also showed that the principal losses of the bank amounted to \$37,544,500. The Shanghai branch of the bank, largely as a result of speculation, involved a loss of about \$6,500,000.

Mr. E. W. Wilson, later put in charge of the bank, said: "Coates' Report and Haskins and Sells' Report are the most astonishing documents that have been presented concerning any bank in any part of the world during the last generation. The less publicity they get, the better for the bank, the Philippine Government and the Philippine Islands. . . . It is not necessary to hunt quail with a brass band. . . ."

Can there be given a better illustration of the conscienceless incapacity of the Filipinos to manage public affairs than the history of the National Bank?

It should be recalled also that in the control of the National Bank was put the currency system, which for something like fifteen years had been operating perfectly, but which, under the bank's administration, depreciated about twenty-eight per cent and would doubtless have been completely ruined had not General Wood been appointed.

Many of the Filipino politicians may say, as it is reported that they do say, that they would prefer independence and a government of the Filipinos even under the Hell that it gives them to Heaven under American rule,—such is their self-esteem and prejudice.

VII.

I HAVE said nothing about the economic development of the Islands. It is perfectly clear that Americans cannot afford to invest money in the Philippines under Filipino administration. It is equally clear that under American rule large sums of money would go into the Islands for many public purposes: rubber, more Manila hemp, more rice, more coconut oil, and other products. These investments would raise wages in the Islands, furnish opportunities for highly paid labor, increase commerce, and benefit the Islands in every way.

There are many other benefits to the Filipinos themselves from American rule, such as free trade with the United States. Were this privilege removed, as it certainly would be under independence, and the money now spent by Americans also taken away, with the expenses inevitable to an independent state added (such as diplomatic service, consulates, etc.), the added burden of taxes, which would certainly be not less than three or four times the present burden, would fall almost entirely upon industry and the poor, but the added offices would all go to the present ruling class. Under such conditions the Filipinos could not compete with

other nations, and they would certainly fall into the hands of some other power.

Again, there is the right of the Filipinos to enter and go anywhere they wish in the United States, the special advantage of their form of government, which would be cut off entirely under independence; and many other advantages that might be mentioned.

It is not claimed that the present form of government is perfect. Were there space suggestions might be made for its improvement; but no form of improvement that would increase the power of the Filipinos in the government for a period of twenty to thirty years at least could be anything but detrimental, whereas an increase of American control

in financial and health matters particularly could but redound to the benefit of the Filipinos themselves.

It is probable that if the Islands can remain under American control until the great mass of the Filipino people can read and can thus get a realization of what American rule means, at the end of that period if a plebiscite were taken (which could not be fairly taken now under the Filipino politicians) a majority of the Filipinos would vote to remain under American rule. When that time comes, the Filipinos would be able to govern themselves, but they would not want to any more than New Zealand and Australia want to govern themselves entirely free from England today.

Will the United States Keep Its Promise?

PEDRO GUEVARA

AT the conclusion of the war with Spain the United States found herself quite unexpectedly in possession of the Philippine Islands. It immediately developed that this acquisition was by no means an unmixed blessing. America was inexperienced in the administration of dependencies, the Filipinos were of an alien race, the Islands were thousands of miles away, and the people and statesmen of this country were sharply divided as to what should be done with them. "Imperialism" became a vital issue; many of the nation's leaders felt either that the treaty with Spain should not be ratified or that if ratified the Islands should promptly be set free.

When it was determined that the Philippines should be retained, the administration stated that the nation realized that the Islands were to be held in trust, and that their affairs should be administered in the interest and for the well-being of the Filipinos. "The free can conquer but to save" was solemnly pronounced, and each succeeding administration has repeated this principle.

It is now twenty-seven years since the American occupation and it might well be expected that in view of the high ideals with which the United States entered upon her trust, great progress should be apparent in the welfare and happiness of the Filipinos. It is true that schools have been widely established and that great advances in public welfare have been made, but in spite of this the present condition of the Islands and the relations between the Filipinos and Americans are little short of deplorable. Misunderstandings have arisen and mutual recriminations have been made which have led to continuous strife and agitation and to what is practically industrial stagnation. This situation is undesirable for both peoples. Obviously if it continues the Filipinos not only can make no further advance, but must retrograde. And surely the United States does not desire a discontented ward. Such a situation is repugnant to her traditions and national spirit; its solution deserves the most sincere and careful consideration of her statesmen. What can be done to resolve the existing difficulties?

THE Filipinos are an intensely patriotic and liberty-loving people. This was demonstrated on numerous occasions by their continued revolts against the Spanish authority. They have constantly stated their desire for immediate independence through the resolutions of their legislative body, although they have been denied the privilege of expressing themselves directly through a plebiscite.

The United States has not only repeatedly made the promise of ultimate independence but it has granted a progressively increasing measure of self-government to the Filipinos, culminating in the enactment of the Jones Law passed in 1916, by the terms of which, they were, among other provisions, given the power of electing their own legislative body. American teachers in the Islands taught the principles of freedom and equality on which this nation was founded and the Filipinos eagerly absorbed American traditions, finding in the history of this country the basis for high hope of obtaining their long desired freedom.

Of late, however, a small group, representing certain interests wholly selfish in character, has been spreading propaganda which threatens to defeat the fundamental aim and expressed intention of the American people. This group is acting solely for its own advantage and has no heed for the interest of either the American or Filipino people.

ERRONEOUS information regarding the Philippines is being widely and persistently spread throughout the United States which is effective, largely because of the general apathy of the American people regarding affairs in the Islands. A specious appeal is being made to national pride and the preservation of "American prestige and dignity." A concerted effort has been and is being made for a departure from the liberal interpretation which has hitherto been given the Jones Law and for the passage of legislation restricting the privileges now enjoyed by the Filipinos. So insidious has been the effect of this agitation that it has made it difficult for America to preserve breadth of vision and fairness of judgment in its attitude toward the Filipinos. The result

of this propaganda, so markedly in contrast with the past promises and acts of the United States, has also had immediate and unfortunate effect in the Islands. The Filipinos have become restive and suspicious, numerous clashes have occurred between the legislative and executive branches of the government, and in consequence a chaotic situation has developed. In this there is nothing peculiar. It is the result normally to be expected from existing causes and furnishes a demonstration of the practical impossibility of holding a people half free and half subject to the will of another nation. British statesmanship has learned the truth of this principle and has gradually granted the utmost freedom of local authority to its dominions. How will American statesmanship meet this problem, and how will it act in view of the pledges previously made by the American people through its constitutional representatives? Decisive action as to independence is beyond the power of the Filipino people; will the United States prolong existing conditions in the Islands?

It is suggested as a constructive measure that the Congress of the United States and the Philippine legislature appoint committees to meet jointly for discussion of the facts and merits underlying the Philippine problem with a view to recommending a satisfactory solution. Both sides should

and undoubtedly would send to such a conference unbiased and patriotic delegates who would have in mind only the best interests of their respective countries and the obligations which each has undertaken in the past. With the common aim of mutual welfare in mind, recriminations and distrust would disappear in the atmosphere of friendly discussion. Surely the fate of twelve million Filipinos and the responsibilities and obligations of so great a nation as the United States are too sacred to be left to the "jingo" of either side. American history and traditions are at stake and the gratitude of the Filipinos is on trial. In all human transactions and relationships there must be mutual consideration and concessions. The relations between the two peoples have reached a stage so acute that any delay or hesitation in promptly resolving existing difficulties must inevitably be detrimental to the best interests of all concerned. The Filipinos realize that the United States has certain rights which cannot in justice be ignored, and these they are prepared to recognize and protect. America should also remember that the right which she asserts must be compatible with her history and ideals. This nation was born of the struggle for liberty and throughout its history has stood firmly for the cause of freedom. Assuredly it will not now reverse its course and forget its high tradition in dealing with a weaker and less fortunate people.



THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS IN RELATION TO OTHER REGIONS OF THE FAR EAST



LUZON IN THE NORTH AND MINDANAO IN THE SOUTH COM-
PRISE NEARLY THREE-FOURTHS THE LAND AREA OF THE 7000
ISLANDS IN THE PHILIPPINE GROUP

Meet the Philippines!

DEVERE ALLEN

TAKE a pane of glass, and with a crayon mark upon it the outlines of the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York. You will then have an area only slightly larger than that of the Islands far off in the tropical Pacific which were named from the Spanish Philip the Second. Throw the glass upon a concrete surface, as hard as you can; if it breaks into more than 7,000 pieces, you will have an approximation of the scattering Philippines and the diversity of their insular make-up. Of the 7,083 islands, only 462, however, have an area of one square mile or over; but Luzon contains over 40,000 square miles and Mindanao over 36,000.

The coastline is so irregular that it exceeds that of the entire United States. Economically this rough coast constitutes an asset, for there are 21 excellent harbors and eight landlocked straits. Some of the larger pieces of your erstwhile pane of glass you might imagine to be islands with mountainous ridges sloping down to fertile plains; many of the smaller ones you would correctly think of as representing nothing but rocky peaks rearing unscratchable surfaces above the south seas. Taking the land of the Islands as a whole, in comparison to the group of our seven states, you would find that the soil that is arable is only about one-half as much in the Islands as in these commonwealths. At that, the soil capable of bearing crops in the Philippines is estimated as 12,000,000 acres, much of which is extremely productive.

It is worth looking at from another angle, this matter of size. To many residents of the United States, the Philippines appear vaguely as a number of small islands whose chief value lies in their strategic war-base potentialities. On this point I restrain myself with some difficulty for the moment and simply say, Not so! The Philippines have a total area well over twice that of Cuba, Porto Rico, the Isle of Pines, and numerous adjacent small islands put together. They are larger than New Zealand, even if you include Samoa and every other island now classed in that British dominion.

Manila is a city with 2,400 industrial establishments, and a population larger than Denver, Louisville, or Toledo; and besides Manila there are 39 other cities of 18,000 population and upwards. The total population of the archipelago is close to 12,000,000, which exceeds by almost two million the entire population of Canada. Did you think so before you looked it up? Not I!

The commercial future of the Islands is impossible to estimate, richly endowed as they are; and with a well educated population growing up. The literacy percentage in the Philippines, by the way, is already higher than that of Greece, Bulgaria, Portugal, Russia, Roumania, Serbia, Brazil, Mexico, or Porto Rico; and is only very slightly behind that of Spain, Newfoundland, or Argentina.

ALREADY the commercial development of the Islands has been tremendous. In 1899 the imports from the United States were only \$1,353,086; in 1926 they totalled almost \$70,000,000. Total imports from other countries in 1905 were just above \$25,000,000; but in 1925 they had mounted to well over \$52,000,000, falling in 1926, however, to some \$47,000,000. Exports have also increased: from \$32,000,000 in 1905 to \$141,000,000 in 1926,—of which the exports to this country amounted to \$102,000,000, or more than 72 per cent. It is interesting to note that in 1924 (I lack figures for later years) one of the items for imports was \$1,047,422 worth of books.

On figures for 1924, the six countries doing most business with the Philippines, with their respective percentages of the Islands' total trade, are as follows: United States, 64.81; United Kingdom, 6.17; Japan, 6.08; China, 4.10; French East Indies, 4.10; Spain, 2.09.

ONE of the important reasons why Governor General Wood thinks we ought to retain the Islands "indefinitely" he gives in these words: "America in the Philippines . . . insures the effective deployment of Christianity for the regeneration of the world."

In the Philippines as elsewhere, however, trade seems to follow—and supplant—the cross. I have some doubt that Jesus meant the economic rewards of "virtue" when he declared that the meek shall inherit the earth. It might be demonstrated also that in this region the bringers of the "loftiest ideals"—to use General Wood's phrase—are not appreciably meeker than in other places where they can make a dollar.

And there are dollars to be made. Rumor has it that a good many people sell, buy, or ride in automobiles, and find tires dear. When the Jones Act pledging independence was passed in 1916, the number of automobiles produced in the United States and Canada was 1,617,708; in 1925, the number had increased to 4,336,754. On June 30, 1926, there were 19,954,347 automobiles in the United States. Of all the crude rubber used in the world in 1923 our country consumed 75%. Mr. J. W. Harriman of the Harriman National Bank has said that "In the Philippines we have 120,000 square miles of territory . . . adapted to the growing of rubber. Labor is plentiful among the population . . . while cheap Chinese labor is only 60 hours away." Rubber can be grown, government surveys prove, to the ultimate tune of 70,000 tons per annum; there already exist small rubber companies in the archipelago, whose officials testify to the same effect. The Alkazar Rubber Co., at Sorsogon has sold tens of thousands of seedlings to other planters in the last few seasons. It ought not to be overlooked that the regions which would be withdrawn and taken to our bosoms under the terms of the Bacon bill correspond almost precisely to the sections in the southern islands where rubber can best be grown.

ONE-THIRD of the world's cocoanut supply comes from the Philippines. More can be grown. Already productive of sugar in large quantities—26,840 tons daily can be turned out—Mr. A. J. Keller, expert of the Cuba Cane Corporation, says that the Islands constitute one of the greatest potential cane sugar growing regions of the world. There is rice: 93,000,000 bushels a year. There is corn: 18,000,000 bushels a year. There is lumber: around 175,000,000 feet a year. There is copra: 387,000 metric tons a year. There is cocoanut oil: 246,000,000 pounds of it exported in one year.

There is gold: near Baguio is one of the world's richest mines. There is iron: on Mindanao there are deposits estimated at 500,000,000 tons. There is coal: on Cebu, Polillo, and Batan. There are silver, lead, zinc, copper, petroleum,

asbestos, and manganese. More can be mined than now, a great deal more.

And there are men in this country with "vision," with "initiative," with a keen desire to promote Christianity, to uplift the Filipinos, to preserve a war base, to advance civilization, to prevent turmoil, to carry eastward the gospel of efficiency, to enrich the living standards of the natives and of all mankind. More of these men can be grown also, and there is being spread about a very elaborate and extensive propaganda to produce them. Here and there, however, you see a few hard-boiled knights of profit who frankly state their interest in retention of the Islands for the purpose of making money. To this small guard I pay my honor. They know just what they want, and they have the grace—this little handful—to say it right out loud.

How We Got the Philippines

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS

THE Philippine archipelago, since the beginning of the Spanish period, had been ruled from Manila. At no time had effective administrative control been exercised by the Spanish over all the islands; and at no time had the Spanish been able to boast that they were completely masters of all the territory and peoples of the two large islands. Nor had their missionaries, indispensable agents of conquest and domination, converted the entire archipelago to Christianity and to the use of the Spanish language. There were solid blocks of Mohammedans under native rulers in the South; and numerous tribes had remained pagan and comparatively uncivilized. Manila, residence of the Governor-General, was the center of military and ecclesiastical authority, whose influence varied greatly from time to time. In the nineteenth century the extension of European commercial and political activity in the Far East gradually made the possession of the islands of more importance to Spain; and the use of steampower and the cable brought them into closer relations both with Manila and Madrid. But toward the end of the century, just when exploitation of their resources began to mean more to Spain and when the extension of administrative control became both more feasible and more worthwhile, the Filipinos, in common with all subject peoples, awoke to a national consciousness. There was born in them the determination to resist exploitation by Spain. The movement for independence, directed by exiles, grew more and more formidable.

At this moment the United States declared war against Spain, with the avowed object of aiding the Cubans to free themselves from Spanish misrule. No war can be limited in its scope. It was natural that when the American navy was seeking to destroy Spain in the Atlantic and was landing armies in Cuba and Porto Rico that a simultaneous blow should be struck in the Far East. The advisability of such action had been recognized ever since war with Spain seemed probable. In the autumn of 1897 Commodore Dewey was chosen to command the Asiatic squadron. He fitted out his ships in California, and sailed for the Far East on December

7, 1897. Ten days after the *Maine* was sunk Dewey, then at Hongkong, was directed by cable to keep his ships together, to see that they were always fully coaled, and in event of declaration of war "to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast and to start offensive operations in the Philippine Islands."

With the same care and forethought American officials in the Far East had been in touch with the Filipino revolutionary leaders; and Consul Pratt, at Singapore, had exchanged messages with Dewey concerning cooperation with the Filipino *junta*. Dewey summoned Aguinaldo to confer with him; but before the Filipino leader reached Hongkong, war had been declared and Dewey was on his way to Manila. Dewey easily destroyed the Spanish naval forces in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. But he had no army with him and could not engage in land operations. An American gunboat brought Aguinaldo from Hongkong to the American fleet. Dewey sent him ashore with the understanding that he was to gather the insurgents together and engage the Spaniards immediately in battle. Within a fortnight the Filipinos captured nearly two thousand Spanish troops; and the following week they took twenty-five hundred Spanish prisoners and invested Manila. The first American troops to arrive, under command of General Anderson, at the beginning of July, entered immediately into active cooperation with the Filipinos against the common enemy.

THE Filipino Republic was proclaimed at Cavite on June 12, 1898, two months before the American forces entered Manila. The situation at that time, according to General Anderson, was that the Filipino insurgents held all the island of Luzon, except Manila, which they were closely investing, and that the Spaniards were confined to two or three fortified towns on the other islands. Aside from Dewey's victory at sea, the Americans had no fighting to do in the Philippine Islands in so far as the Spaniards were concerned. When the bulk of the American military forces arrived, in the second week of August, 1898, the Spanish

forces capitulated. But they made a stipulation, which the Americans gladly accepted, that when the city surrendered, no Filipino troops should enter and that the surrender should be made solely to the Americans.

In the armistice terms, it was agreed that the United States be entitled "to occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of the treaty of peace which should determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines."

Although American diplomatic, naval and military officials had entered into relations with the Filipino insurgents and had cooperated with them and used them up to the time the American army arrived, our government had not recognized the Philippine Republic. After the armistice, with the American flag waving at Manila and Cavite only, Washington went ahead to negotiate a treaty with Madrid, completely ignoring the Filipinos. In the Paris negotiations the American commissioners were instructed to demand the cession of the Philippine Islands. This was later modified in the treaty to their purchase for the sum of \$20,000,000.

THE American people were not informed at the time as to the relations between the Filipino insurgents and the American forces at Manila, nor did they know how far the movement for independence had gone, and how successful it was at the moment of Dewey's intervention. They did not realize that in our treaty with Spain, by ignoring the Filipinos, we were really guilty of forcible annexation. The Treaty of Paris came up for ratification in the Senate at an unfortunate time. The politicians were looking forward to a Presidential election, with other issues confronting the people; and yet there was considerable opposition to out-and-out retention of the Philippines and to the complete ignoring of the rights of the Filipinos. Unfortunately, while the Senate was debating upon amendments that would define the position of the United States toward the Philippine people, and the vote had not yet been taken, hostilities broke out in the islands between the American and Filipino armies. The Senate, with one vote to spare, ratified the treaty; and the Filipinos were declared rebels. The war of conquest commenced.

In reality, open hostilities had been made inevitable, prior to the ratification of the treaty, by the Administration. The Filipinos could not stomach the proclamation by President McKinley on December 21, 1898, when the United States was holding only the city, bay and harbor of Manila, to the effect that "as a result of the victories of American arms, the future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States. In fulfillment of the rights of sovereignty thus acquired and the responsible obligations thus assumed, the actual occupation and administration of the entire group of the Philippine Islands become immediately necessary, and the military government heretofore maintained by the United States in the city, harbor and bay of Manila is to be extended with all possible despatch to the whole ceded territory."

General Otis, when the first firing occurred without casualties on the night of February 4, 1899, is on record as stating that "it is not believed that the chief insurgents wished to open hostilities at that time." But, acting on orders from Washington, he immediately started to drive the Filipinos out of their possessions, and killed and wounded some three

thousand of them in the initial battle, after refusing Aguinaldo's proposal to establish a neutral zone.

THROUGHOUT 1899 the war was continued, and by the middle of 1900, sixteen months after the fighting started, there were four hundred American military posts in the Philippine Islands. Believing that any hope of effective resistance was over, President McKinley issued a proclamation of amnesty on June 21, 1900. But the Filipinos decided to continue guerilla warfare. This led to the necessity of a systematic occupation of zones, and the adoption of a policy of *Schrecklichkeit* on both sides. The Filipinos killed Americans when and how they could, and subjected prisoners to horrible deaths. The Americans retaliated by burning whole villages, torturing civilians to extract information, and taking no prisoners when Filipino bands surrendered. In the spring of 1901 General Aguinaldo was captured by a ruse. He took the oath of allegiance, and issued a proclamation recommending the abandonment of further resistance. But at the end of 1901 there was still fighting in outlying districts.

This was only because the Americans, however, were going at the job of conquest more thoroughly and more extensively than the Spaniards had ever done. In some regions they were confronted with the problem of establishing routes through wild tribes scattered over a sparsely populated country and bringing them under the reign of law. The thickly inhabited regions, where the Filipinos were civilized, put up no resistance after Aguinaldo's conversion. Here public schools were established, and civilian administration, partly Filipino, was gradually introduced.

After the first three years the Filipino question has been a moral question. Once the resistance of the insurgents was broken, there has never been any fear of an armed rebellion. Nor has there been intrigue against our retention of the Philippine Islands on the part of any other Power. Internationally speaking, the contention of President McKinley's proclamation of December 21, 1898, was universally accepted.

In world politics, American occupation of the Philippines brought us immediately into contact with the intrigues of the Great Powers in China. It has made us more concerned than we were before about the naval strength and the general foreign policy of Japan. It has rendered us bedfellows of the European Powers who have voluntarily assumed "the white man's burden." With what result? We were forced to intervene in China with the other Powers in 1900, and to associate ourselves with every international move in the Far East since then. Retention of the Philippines has necessitated extending the activities of our army and navy, and keeping ahead of Japan in naval armaments. And, most important of all, we entered the glass house of those nations whose policies are inspired by belief in the transcendent rights and interests of the white people throughout the world.

"You refuse to give the Philippines their complete independence. I am with you. Why should the Philippines have more than we do?"—*Will Rogers, Letters of a Self-made Diplomat to his President.*

Is Independence Adequate?

Some Factors Often Overlooked in Plans for Settlement

NORMAN THOMAS

THIS, I suppose, is to be the only article in this issue written by a man with no claims whatever to expert knowledge of the Philippines. The editors are letting me raise in regard to the Philippines a question of fundamental importance in the whole field of international relations. It is this: How shall we apply the principle of self determination—the denial of which is tyranny—and yet preserve that large-scale economic cooperation which is the essential condition of healthy life in this age of interdependence?

The condition of peace and prosperity in our world is the discovery of some alternative on the one hand to the partial and coerced unity of competing imperial systems and on the other to the separatism of innumerable little states each with its high tariff and oppressive armament. For a time Woodrow Wilson's gospel of self determination seemed the way out of the bog of imperialist greed and hate. Today most of us would have to confess that self determination, as Edith Cavell said of patriotism, is not enough. To be sure, the principle of self determination has never been honestly applied, least of all in the treaties which ended the Great War. It is something in which we believe for ourselves and our friends, but not for others. Nevertheless the application of self determination gave us in Europe a lot of new states which, to put it mildly, have proved that romantic nationalism is of itself no road to peace or happiness. In particular these new states in Europe have sinned grievously against such approaches to economic unity or cooperation as had been established under the imperial systems which were broken by the war.

There is no objective standard for the accurate measurement of human happiness and well being. There is no accounting for tastes in tyrants. Quite possibly the Poles under Pilsudski, the Lithuanians and the rest under their local bosses, are happier and therefore better off than ever before. But to some of us the happiness of their exaggerated nationalism is the happiness of delirium. In our unstable world these new nations are not particularly secure and the economic condition of their peoples is proof of the great price they have paid for their brand of nationalistic self determination. The future of Europe is dark unless her various peoples can begin to think in units at least as large as Europe instead of merely in terms of their nationalist boundaries, which they seek to expand at the expense of their neighbors.

The menace of an exclusive emphasis on nationalistic self determination is particularly obvious in Europe, where nationalities have crossed and recrossed so that it is hard to define their boundaries. But the same sort of exaggerated nationalism has hitherto prevented the settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute in South America and has kept the little Central American nations divided—to their own hurt. In our modern world nationalism is peculiarly the food on which demagogues grow great. There

is no reason to think that the old style romantic nationalism, however beautiful and heroic it may appear in a nation struggling for freedom, will be any more adequate to the problems of the Philippines than it is proving in any one of a dozen nations that could easily be named.

BUT if romantic nationalism has its own dangers so most emphatically has imperialism. Imperialism is the overgrown nationalism of great nations which deny to weaker peoples the rights and privileges which they claim for themselves. There is nothing more irritating than to listen to a British or American imperialist criticizing Irish or Philippine claims to independence on the ground of the inadequacy of nationalism. Are not the British and the Americans extreme nationalists in their own philosophy? Would not all of us instinctively prefer bad government by bosses of our own nation to better government by foreign experts? Let me speak for myself. I think I am an internationalist. I know I am opposed to Tammany Hall and have little enthusiasm for the kind of government my friend Mayor Walker is giving New York City. I am aware that most German cities both before and since the Great War are better governed by experts than is New York. Yet I should feel it as an intolerable outrage if German experts, backed by superior forces, were to undertake the government of my city. What right therefore have I to talk piously of the service my country is doing for another by governing it, no matter how well, against its will?

Moreover, the economic unity of imperial systems is a very partial affair and does not solve the problem of our interdependent world. Imperialism competes with imperialism for the exploitation of weaker peoples. Each imperial system sets up its own artificial barriers to a just and friendly exchange of goods.

It is not really of world peace or world well being or the welfare of dependent peoples that we think when we justify American imperialism. Let us be honest with ourselves. We are not holding on to the Philippines because we are philosophically opposed to the principle of nationalism as wholly inadequate in our modern world or because we have a deep and passionate concern for the well being of "our little brown brothers" (ask about our black brothers at home!). We are holding on to the Philippines because a few of our fellow citizens have a definite economic stake or hope to acquire such a stake in the Islands through rubber concessions or whatnot. And the rest of us are kept drunk on the strong liquor of national grandeur in which the ownership of the Philippines is rather unaccountably an element.

SO much for the general background of our problem. Now let us get down to an examination of the particular case under discussion. So far as the Filipinos them-

selves are concerned we are in the Islands solely by right of conquest, a conquest which we asserted by the atrocities and brutalities usually and necessarily associated with the military conquest of an unwilling people. Two things have softened the hatred we incurred by our act of conquest. First, we have repeatedly and earnestly promised ultimate independence to the Islands. Second, there has been a very considerable effort on the part of conscientious Americans, official and unofficial, to bring to the inhabitants the blessings of modern sanitation, education, and a certain amount of training in self government. When we took the Philippines we had just enough of our old sentimental regard for liberty, we were just enough ashamed of our conquest to want to make good in our professions of interest in the well being of these people. On the whole, therefore, American government in the Philippines has been very creditable as colonial governments go. Doubtless the Filipinos could draw up a bill of particulars against us. Even Carmi Thompson has admitted in his report to the President that there is too much of the army and the army psychology about Governor Wood's administration. Our race snobbery has checked the growth of deep friendship for us. Nevertheless, I suspect that the Filipinos themselves would agree that the worst thing about the American government of the Islands is the fact that it is American and not Filipino. They object to the present administration of their Islands not so much because it is military as because it is not their own. And who are we to deny the validity of this objection?

FOR the sake of our own honor and our own interests we cannot repeat in the Philippines the history of Ireland. The only thing that would justify the retention of the Islands would be the consent of the natives. There is no evidence worth a moment's respect that the opinion of Americans as to the sentiment of the natives is more to be prized on this point than the overwhelming success of candidates pledged to Philippine independence at every election to the local legislature. As between holding the Islands by force or the latent threat of force and granting them at the earliest possible date their absolute independence, we should unhesitatingly choose the latter course.

Nevertheless, in the complicated conditions of the modern world the mere grant of Philippine independence would not solve the Philippine problem. Nor is Japan the true stumbling block, as many imagine. The Filipinos themselves whom I have heard speak on this subject usually agree that the grant of independence might be accompanied by a treaty with Japan guaranteeing the neutrality of the Islands. Such a treaty ought to be brought about with honor to all parties concerned.

The chief dangers would be economic. Justly or unjustly, wisely or unwisely, economic development in the Philippines has been largely determined by special consideration given to Philippine products under the American tariff. Suddenly to end these arrangements would for a considerable period of time cause great and unnecessary distress in the Islands. Men cannot live on Patrick Henry orations. No responsible Philippine leader and no American friend of Philippine independence ought to talk of the separation of the Islands without presenting a program of reciprocity

or of the readjustment of tariff rates through a period of years to meet this serious situation.

Then there is the problem of concessions which will be harder to deal with than the tariff. It is not inconceivable that certain great American financial interests would ultimately reconcile themselves to political independence for the Philippines if they were assured of friendly treatment by the Filipino government. There is a disposition among Filipino students and possibly some of the older leaders to say: "Give us political independence and we'll take care of the rest. We need foreign capital but so did the United States in its earlier days. We will get it on the same terms as did the United States without compromising our political independence." To talk like this is to ignore the realities of the world we live in. There is very little similarity between the independent development of the United States of America in the nineteenth century and of the Philippine republic in the twentieth. The technique of imperialism today is highly developed. An independent Philippine government would be besieged by hundreds of rubber and other concession hunters who would no more stop at bribes and threats than they do now in Central America. Nicaragua has nominal political independence. It is economically dependent in a worse sense and to a greater degree than the Philippine Islands, and ever since 1911 the various governments of Nicaragua have rested more truly upon the bayonets of American Marines than upon the devotion of Nicaraguan citizens. By every objective test the Filipinos without nominal political independence are better off than the peoples of Nicaragua and other Caribbean states where political independence masks an unscrupulous American control in behalf of various economic interests.

IT does not follow that automatically the Filipinos will remain better off than the Nicaraguans simply by staying under our flag. The clamor of the rubber growers has an ominous sound. The argument that the Islands ought to be divided has far more to do with the value of rubber lands than with concern for Moro culture. It is by no means certain how long our uneasy American conscience about the Philippines will serve as a bulwark to the Islands against exploitation by rubber barons. A golden opportunity is being lost to see what could be done under the cooperative plan by native rubber growers who are not regimented under great capitalists as are the natives in the British and Dutch East Indies. Certainly no political arrangement will be an automatic bulwark for a people blessed or cursed with rich tropical lands, capable of producing goods eagerly desired by industrial nations.

It is this economic side of the picture which has been woefully neglected in most discussions of Philippine independence. For Filipino leaders and their American friends to postpone discussion of these economic realities lest it divide the forces now working for independence may be good tactics in the immediate struggle, but it is fatal strategy for the long campaign. The Filipino nationalists, like the Kuo Min Tang in China, ought to try to work out an economic program as an integral part of their plan.* American friends of Philippine independence on their side must try to stir

* Since this was written there has appeared the encouraging article "Whose Land—Whose Rubber," by Vicente G. Bunuan, of the Philippine Press Bureau at Washington.

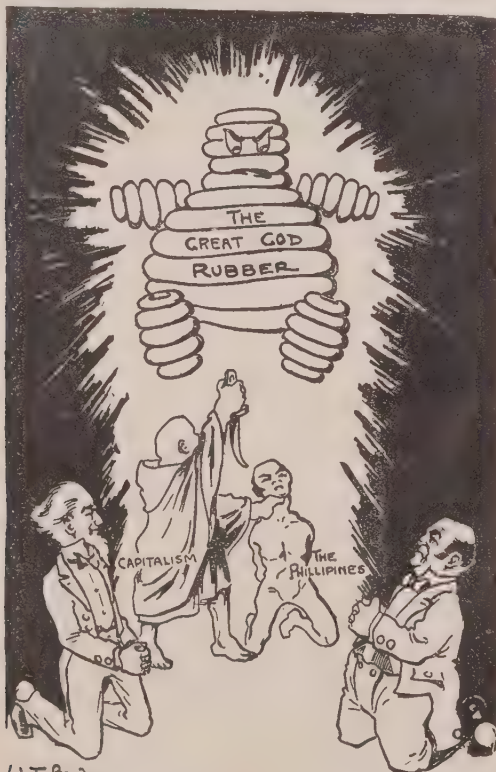
up among the workers in their own country a vigorous realization of the realities of economic imperialism and a vigorous attack on the American brand of that commodity whether it is masked by concern for the uplift of backward peoples or by an outward deference to the forms of political independence.

Since a self-sufficient isolation is out of the question for any nation in our interdependent world, the great task is to find a way whereby free peoples may cooperate. Here is a challenge to social imagination and constructive engineering in the field of human relationships. If we had been as slow to meet such challenges in the field of physical engineering we should still be riding patiently in ox-carts or carriages, axle deep in mud.

TO settle all the problems of imperialism or even to diagnose them lies quite beyond the scope of this article. What I am eager to point out is that the United States and the Philippines might make a notable contribution toward a constructive settlement of these problems if their representatives would escape from the old circle of time-honored arguments about the uplift of backward peoples on the one hand and the glories of nationalism on the other and get down to the realities of the present situation both economic and psychological. Surely it ought not to be impossible to imagine a group of Americans and Filipinos officially charged with the task of working out a satisfactory arrangement. Such a round table conference to accomplish the maximum of good would not merely fix a date for Philippine independence and provide for the orderly transference of power to the new government at such time and

by such stages as might be mutually agreed upon. It would—to recapitulate points already made—suggest the draft of a treaty which the United States, Japan, England, Holland, France, China, and possibly other powers with Far Eastern interests would be asked to sign, guaranteeing Philippine independence. It would then address itself to the difficult economic problems. Without much difficulty it could guard against the shock of the sudden exclusion of the Philippine Islands from the present preferential treatment which they receive under the American tariff. The problem of concessions would be more difficult and no paper agreement would be valuable unless in the Philippines themselves there was an understanding of the emptiness of an independence which merely gives political dignity to a certain number of political leaders.

I SHALL probably be told by both sides of the Philippine debate that what I have suggested is impracticable. I can only say that if it is impracticable then the cooperation of peoples of varying economic development is impracticable. And if that is impracticable, then world peace is an idle dream. The Philippines represent a very simple problem indeed compared with the complexities of adjusting economic and political relations at scores of sore points in Europe and Asia. Moreover, there is still a considerable store of good will on both sides available for a settlement of the Philippine question. It will be a tragedy of the first magnitude if through a policy of drift and popular indifference the Philippines become another field of conflict between a sentimental political nationalism and a stubborn, militaristic, profit-seeking imperialism.



W.T. Brady —

—From The New Leader, Sept. 18, 1926



—From The New Leader, December 11, 1926

Imperialism in the Balance

H. N. BRAILSFORD

ONCE in a talk with Rabindranath Tagore I led the Indian poet to describe the change which in his generation had come over the relations of his countrymen and mine. He and his contemporaries, he told me, had modeled themselves upon their English teachers. Our literature had formed their minds: the great Victorians from John Stuart Mill and Carlyle to Matthew Arnold and Ruskin were their heroes. Their thinking had begun to move to a Western rhythm. In the last twenty years all this has changed. An exaggerated and embittered nationalism has erected its barbed-wire entanglement around the Indian mind. Its defences are up not only against English but against all European influences. Our wisdom cannot leap this ledge; our poetry cannot charm it to bend. We irritate wherever we contrive to touch the mind behind it. And even against our science it is steeled. The reaction has gone so far, that this Indian mind, in its wilful antagonism, must reject even the objective evidence behind the Western lore which is least colored by our personality. It prides itself on ignoring the lessons of our physiology and our hygiene. It rallies under Gandhi's leadership to a movement which involves the defiant rejection of our economics. The best with the worst, our utilities with our insolence, it flings upon the scrap-heap, because they are ours.

I have witnessed this state of mind myself in another country which knows us as conquerors. I spent a month some years ago in Egypt. The paralyzing prestige of Lord Cromer had just been withdrawn: the revolt of a now conscious nation had just begun. I moved about uneasily at home in two worlds. The Egyptian nationalist intellectuals talked readily to me, because they knew me for an opponent of the Occupation. With the English officials and teachers I had the link of a common education. I could discern the virtues and defects of both these groups. The Egyptians were still extremely crude. Their native Arabic culture was a dead and sterile thing, while Western culture was not yet acclimatised in the foreign soil of their minds. The Englishmen, for all their arrogance, their talk of imagination and their inability to criticise themselves, had a steady devotion to duty, and a genuine wish to bring their gifts of character and knowledge to the service of the people of the Nile. I could sympathize with both groups and realize the tragedy of their situation. But in the end I found myself summing it up in these words "They will not learn, and we can no longer teach." The resentment and pretensions of one race, the mingled alarm and contempt of the other, had erected an impassable curtain between them. Had they come unarmed, with no imperial interests to serve, these civil servants and professors might have helped their subordinates in the ministries, and their students in the schools, for yet another generation. But the tramp of the khaki legions in the streets rang in the ears of the students as they listened to the lectures on history and law. The citadel overshadowed the ministries, and the whirl of the aero-

planes in the sky dominated the quiet voices of the English officials, as they talked with their native juniors about irrigation or the prevention of disease.

THOSE of us who profess an instinctive and reasoned opposition to Imperialism, make a grave mistake, if we deny its civilising mission, or doubt the sincerity of those who devote their lives to it. It has graven the superb epic of its courage and organizing genius on the very crust of the earth, from ice-bound Siberia to the sands of South Africa. But always the gifts of education and intellectual stimulus and humaner government which it brings with it, are a by-product of its self-regarding activities. To bestow these gifts is rarely, if ever, the motive of the robust pioneers. If they have any motive which stands a little higher than material gain, it is glory and the aggrandisement of the mother-land. But the impulse which drives them to these "places in the sun" has usually been either the desire to monopolise a market or a new material or the even baser reckoning that there is cheap and unorganized labour awaiting exploitation. When it is none of these things, it is a reckoning that springs from the interplay of interests with geographical accident. Tsarist Russia advanced along the paths that led to an ice-free port, or England must acquire the gates and the strategic posts which dominate the road to India. Unless it be in some of the British West African colonies, the civilising motive, which limps lamely after the acquisitive motive, in the hope of justifying violence after the fact, has never yet grown strong enough to restrain or transform the crude egoism of conquest. We have, it is true, introduced Western education into India, but our purpose was always to train a corps of satellites, who would serve our trade and our administration as intelligent underlings. To this day we have created no system of compulsory primary education, and the impressive mass of our subjects remain untouched by all the intellectual wealth which we have to bestow. We have done something for public health, in the sense that we have checked the epidemics which might have swept the cities where we do business, but we have done nothing to lessen the hideous sacrifice of childlife which curses every home in the Indian village. Order and security we can organize. The mechanism which grinds out its average dividend of 90 per cent from the Bengal jute-mills is well-oiled, but the mass of the people continues to cultivate by the methods of the Bronze Age and stagnates in a poverty to which we would not condemn the most worthless paupers of our own Imperial race. The by-product of civilisation is a convenience which too plainly serves our own purpose. And because, in our strategical railways, our health service, and even in our colleges, the limitations of this purpose are legible to the awakened intelligence of a conquered but critical India, we have reached the stage at which the school-master can still keep order in his class, but can neither teach it nor inspire it.

The cultural gains which a conquered people derives from Imperialism are never so ample or so stimulating as those which it might have derived from the adventure of a free contact with a friendly but alien civilization. A people's mind may be dazzled at the first impact of a strange culture upon its intelligence, but its will retains its manhood, and its motives their spontaneity. And if in the end it reacts, it will do so without bitterness and violence, and the self which it rediscovers will have been enriched and fertilized by marriage.

WHEN once one becomes sceptical about the moral and cultural gains of Imperialism, the other problems, which it raises come crowding on one's attention. Even the economic gains are far from presenting a clear balance-sheet. In the old world of Europe, modern Imperialism had its origin largely in the over-rapid accumulation of capital by a small owning class. The internal market was starved, because the industrial system, in its struggle for profits, limited the purchasing power of the masses, so that the wages which they had to spend could never keep pace with the growing output of the machines. Since by this policy of low wages the industrial system limited its own internal market, it was driven to enlarge it by conquest. Towards the middle of the last century, it began to export capital as well as consumable goods. By this expedient it kept capital relatively scarce, in spite of its rapid accumulation. The rate of interest was thus preserved against a natural fall, and the passive owners kept their rewards high by comparison with those of the active workers. The leisured and privileged class was all the while erecting in Asia and Africa buttresses and bulwarks for the social and political privileges which it retained at home.

And in another and still more disastrous way this ruling class learned how to keep the wages of the homeland low. The coal mines of Central India, in which women as well as men work underground at a starvation rate, began to eat into the export trade of the British mines, till unemployment became a constant curse. The jute-mills of Calcutta, working at incredible wages, restricted the market of the older jute-mills of Dundee, and kept its standard of life at a level scandalous even to European ideas. And if capital also suffered in some degree by the misfortunes of the home trade, it was mobile and recouped itself by wandering abroad. On the whole, while Imperialism has enriched our economic life by opening up vast new sources of raw material and immense markets, it has tended to depress the conditions of the workers in the mother country, or at least to check the improvement which otherwise would have occurred.

TO trace the effects of this expansion on the political relations of the Great Powers is today the commonplace of progressive thinking. The earth's surface is limited and the competition among the industrial Powers to secure "places in the sun," explains the competition in armaments which preceded the Great War. An Egyptian question slid into a Moroccan question, and from that again Europe bumped into the problem of the Turkish railways. All of us were arming to decide who should dig iron-ore out of the mountains of the Atlas, in order to lay it down as steel-

rails on the road to Bagdad. The Versailles Settlement has left the world more heavily armed than it was in 1914, and even in Europe the landscape is covered with finger-posts that point to the scene of the next inevitable war. But let us suppose, for argument's sake, that the older causes of armament and war were removed as completely as men of good will desire. Can a world which retains Imperialism enjoy the reality of peace? Lord Cecil, surveying British commitments the other day, remarked that we had already reached the limits of disarmament. Our army was barely sufficient for the police of our Empire, while to secure its sea communications we required all the cruisers we possessed, though they might by international arrangement be built on a lighter model. An optimist may look forward to the growth of the influence of the League of Nations as the peace-maker among European Powers. But this institution has one singularity. It meets from time to time in Europe to crown itself with "olives of endless age," and it performs these flattering ceremonies to the accompaniment of a constant fusillade in Africa and Asia. France plunges undisturbed through two second-class wars in Syria and the Riff. Great Britain hurls her ultimatum at "independent" Egypt, and China's entry into the very Council of the League is greeted by a salvo of British guns upon the Yangtse. Concede, if you please, that among nations of white race, the League has somewhat diminished the risk of war: it excludes from the mercies of its arbitral procedure all the peoples of inferior status in the outer continents, who find themselves in the path of the expanding empires. When they revolt our arrogance refuses to dignify their struggle for freedom with the name of "war"; but these exercises mean, nonetheless, wounds and massacre, burned villages and homeless populations. Nor is it only pity which shrinks from this spectacle in alarm. So long as it is possible for the Imperial Powers to assign to themselves and to hold by arms, the sources of the raw materials indispensable to modern industry, can we boast that force has been banished from our planet, or reason seated on her throne?

AND yet, the reader will say, it is too late for abstention and *laissez-faire*. Can we leave Africa to revert to barbarous tribal war, with slaves as the stake in the barbarous game? Or because a savage clan hunts game over the ground where copper or oil be hidden, can we from a prudish dread of violence deny these riches to mankind? On what page of Creation's Domesday Book is that clan's title registered for eternity? There are, I think, two answers to these legitimate questions. If our purpose be to educate, or even to police, how comes it that we have never confined ourselves to these far from remunerative activities? For how long together have we even tried to keep school without a machine-gun in the playground? And if it be the interests of all mankind which guide us to oil-wells, how comes it that we reserve their products for ourselves? Searching for the new technique by which we may civilise without conquering and exploit the earth's riches without injustice to simple peoples, we shall find the solution only in the development of international machinery which can aid the backward peoples, assist their finances or their administration, and control the development of their natural resources without consigning them to any government's exclusive guidance.

Philippine Independence

The American Promise

"If the time comes when it is apparent that independence would be better for the people of the Philippines, . . . and if when that time comes the Filipino people desire complete independence, the American Government and people will gladly accord it."—*Republican Platform, 1924.*

"We declare that it is our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet."—*Democratic Platform, 1924.*

"We favor the immediate and complete independence of the Philippine Islands, in accordance with the pledges of official representatives of the American people."—*Progressive (La Follette) Platform, 1924.*

"It is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein. For the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them, . . . in order that . . . they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges of complete independence."—*The Jones Law, 1916.*

"The Philippines are ours, not to exploit but to develop, civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government."—*President McKinley.*

"I trust that within a generation the time will arrive when the Filipinos can decide for themselves whether it is well for them to become independent or to continue under the protection of a strong and disinterested power, able to guarantee to the Islands order at home and protection from foreign invasion."—*President Roosevelt, 1908.*

"We would . . . endeavor to secure for the Filipinos economic independence and to fit them for complete self-government, with the power to decide eventually, according to their own largest good, whether such self-government shall be accompanied by independence."—*President Taft, 1912.*

"We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence."—*President Wilson, 1913.*

Are the Filipinos Ready?

"In many positions they have shown marked capacity and have done better than could reasonably be expected of an inexperienced and untried people. There are many holding high positions in the judicial, executive and educational departments who would be a credit to any government."

"No people, under the friendly tutelage of another, have made so great a progress in so short a time."

"The whole people have a consuming thirst for education. . . . Their support and aid in the building up of public education is beyond praise."

"Public order is excellent throughout the Islands, with the exception of minor disturbances in the Moro regions."

"The Philippine Islands, contrary to general belief, have maintained all of the expenses of civil administration since the beginning of American occupation from insular revenues and without assistance from the Treasury of the United States, which has, however, defrayed all the costs of the military and naval establishments and fortifications. The only aid received by the Philippine government from the United States has been a \$3,000,000 appropriation for famine relief made in 1903."

"We find a general failure to appreciate the fact that independence under the protection of another nation is not true independence."

"We find that many Filipinos have shown marked capacity for government service and that the young generation is full of promise; that the civil service laws have in the main been honestly administered, but there is a marked deterioration due to the injection of politics."

"We find that the legislative chambers are conducted with dignity and decorum and are composed of representative men. . . . Good constructive legislation was passed."

"The government and people of the Islands realize the value and necessity of public works, and large appropriations from current revenues have been made annually for such objects as the construction of roads, bridges, irrigation systems, school houses, markets, port works, and artesian wells, among others."

"There has been a good deal of excellent work done. The director, a Filipino, is a man of unusual capacity and foresight, and he impressed the members of the mission most favorably."—*The Wood-Forbes Report, 1921.*



A Window on the Street

A Shift in the Struggle for Peace

Two months ago the forces of militarism in this country were on the defensive. They had used that very word in describing the difficulty of holding their own in respect to military training in the schools, and their continuous propaganda for larger military appropriations was not bringing returns that matched their ambitions. How those ambitions have increased may be indicated by the recent jump in the paper military strength of this country, as the War Department sees it. In War Department figures as of August 31st, 1925, for the available military man-power of all countries (see 1926 World Almanac), our total potential man-power is given as 12,000,000 for a population estimated at 112,826,000. However, the figures as of October 1st, 1926 (1927 World Almanac), for an estimated population of 117,135,817 are given as 18,500,000. In short, while the population rise is estimated at about 4,300,000, counting men, women and children, our potential man-power has jumped—in the minds of the War Department—6,500,000. Not bad progress—on paper—when you realize further that this figure brings our percentage of possible warriors up to 19.6, highest by far of all nations, both in numbers and percentage. The U. S. A. must lead in all things; and the militarists of the rest of the world will have to bow to that government which now advertises gratuitously on the backs of its documents for public distribution that “the arts of war as well as those of peace are actively cultivated.”

In the last eight weeks our militarists have been able to shift something of their grandiose projects from paper to the popular mind—which, too often, is only one stage removed from realization. At the present, the active peace elements are waging a defensive and, it must frankly be admitted, a temporarily losing campaign. That is to say, peace gains have been far less than war gains.

How has this change come about? Struggling in an intolerable defensive position, the militaristic groups resolved to take the offensive. Congress was soon to meet and the next Congress—the one containing the newly elected members, who will get a chance to “represent” somebody about thirteen months after their election—promised to be a shade less tractable. The time was now if ever. The militarists’ offensive began with the attack in the Senate on the treaty banning poison gas; that treaty was driven back into committee. The attack then shifted to the House, where one of the most determined campaigns for naval appropriations ever launched speedily routed President Coolidge from his opposition.

Sensing public hostility to our entry upon an armament race, the President in a characteristic straddle held to his change of heart to the extent of expressing a willingness to build the new cruisers on paper, but went back to his former position against naval increases to the extent of opposing actual appropriations for the new ships.

But the damage had been done. War-howlers immediately opened enthusiastic business. One New York newspaper, capitalizing the anti-Japanese herring drawn across the Fall-Doheny trail, ran the headline “Coolidge Prepares for War with Japan.” That public which spreads rumors of world-shaking events as a pastime to lighten the labors of the day began whispering about an impending war. The rotogravure sections added to the joy of the season by displaying at the front of their Christmas editions a huge picture of the Japanese battle ship Mutsu, a super-dreadnought with little present news value, since it was practically completed in 1921 and served as a basis for argument at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament! The *Literary Digest* ran a large heading about Mexico’s “confiscation” of American oil properties. Correspondents described Washington as waiting for Mexican “overt acts.” The President tried to plant one foot on the peace side of the fence a little more firmly in his address at Trenton; but pacific phrases meant little as compared to acts.

Meantime the Nicaragua-Mexican affair had been progressing with a step by step regularity as typical of imperialism as of any other disease. While Senate Democrats who have been most vociferous in accusing Republicans of “playing politics” with foreign policy were playing peanut politics themselves and also trying not to bring criticism on Woodrow Wilson’s Vera Cruz adventure, the Administration pursued a course each step of which branded its previous assertions as falsehoods. By propagandist indirection we have proceeded from the recognition of Diaz to neutral protection of our rights, to limited intervention on behalf of Diaz, to open hostilities against Sacasa and the Liberals, to veiled hints of Mexico’s gun-running and “bolshevism,” to open charges of Mexican efforts to “bolshevize” all Central America, to frank admissions of intervention in Nicaragua and threats against Mexico if she does not conform to our desires. Since the original cause of our real dispute with Mexico came to a head, the waters of State Department misrepresentation have gone over the dam in quantity. And oil, violating the laws of gravity for the time being, seems likely to sink far down below the top, where it belongs.

But the situation has had its encouraging side. Scarcely

if ever has an imperialist move received so much frank publicity. And among the more alert sections of our population a protest of no small dimensions has been gathering. If the Administration can be forced into a *bona fide* arbitration policy, a thrilling victory for peaceful processes will be won. And it is not impossible to believe that this revolt can yet be turned into a movement against the whole militarist bloc, in which event the balance once more would shift and the position of peace workers be stronger than it was before.

Giving War the Straight-Arm

Those not well informed about uncompromising pacifism often express their feeling that such methods are futile. Still the war resisters' numbers are continuously being augmented. When 116 ministers in England recently signed a pledge for "unreserved abstention" from war, many people who had not thought much about the idea as a practical project were stirred to a new appreciation.

Strangely scant attention has been paid by liberal and radical journals to the amazing declaration passed without a dissenting vote at the Margate Conference of British Labour, which "calls upon the workers to make clear to their Governments that they will meet any threat of war by organizing general resistance, including the refusal to bear arms, to produce armaments, or to render any material assistance."

At the National Student Conference in Milwaukee, 327 undergraduates (20% of those voting) declared it their intention never to take part in any war, a number large enough to show that pacifism is not the fleeting thing in our colleges that some unsympathetic newspapers have hopefully said it was. And complacent dismissal of the war resister is likely to be dissipated still further by the fact that a peace letter has been presented to the British Government by no fewer than 100,000 signers which reads: "Sir—We, the undersigned, convinced that all disputes between nations are capable of settlement either by diplomatic negotiation or by some form of International Arbitration, hereby solemnly declare that we shall refuse to support or render war service to any Government which resorts to arms." The campaign for signatures was led by Arthur Ponsonby, Ex-Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (now in this country), and was carried on without any of the trappings of large-scale salesmanship. Uncompromising war resisters are increasing in numbers in almost every country as fast, in all probability, as would be good for the future of the movement. The War Resisters' International already has affiliated sections in nineteen countries, and though in many of these the movement is numerically in its infancy, in other countries the numbers of members would doubtless furnish a genuine surprise to those who are inclined to look upon the pacifist as an almost solitary specimen of Utopian impracticality. The pacifist, least of all, is deluded about the uphill struggle ere his viewpoint can prevail. But compared to many another eventually influential movement in world history at a similar stage of development, pacifism is by no means lagging. It goes slowly, and yet sturdily, ahead.

DEVERE ALLEN.

Worth-While Plays

THE last month has brought forth some interesting plays and productions as respite from much that is mediocre and not worth seeing or discussing.

Sydney Howard, whose *They Knew What They Wanted* and *Lucky Sam McCarver* are remembered from other seasons, has two plays alternating weekly in Theatre Guild repertory: *Ned McCobb's Daughter* and *The Silver Cord*. Both are admirably directed and played. *Ned McCobb's Daughter*, while interesting, is not a great play, in the sense that the great play impinges upon universal experience; it is a fine character study of a strong woman, harshly disillusioned, keeping her house of cards from tumbling about her head. Mr. Howard has localized his play in his characters, as he did in *They Knew What They Wanted*, and has succeeded again in creating salty individuals. *The Silver Cord* is very significant, and in its writing Mr. Howard becomes an important dramatist of the universal theatre. It is an almost perfect tragedy of a possessive mother in her relationship to her grown sons; *Mrs. Phelps*, widowed young, has devoted herself, romantically and selfishly, to her "boys." Her emotional domination does not let them grow up, and she breaks off, with her considerable charm, any budding independence in their lives. A biologist daughter-in-law who married her oldest son—in Europe, while away from his mother's influence—brings matters to a show-down when her marriage is threatened. In the conflicts of this play Mr. Howard has used familiar tragedy intelligently, in the light of modern psychology; it is fine, exciting drama, and splendid social criticism at the same time, attaining a significance few plays achieve.

The Neighborhood Playhouse repertory is alternating *The Dybbuk*, their outstanding play of last year, with *The Little Clay Cart*. It is as hauntingly beautiful a production as was that of a year ago. A deep, enriching experience.

Following the deserved success of *Iolanthe*, Winthrop Ames has revived Gilbert and Sullivan's *Pirates of Penzance*, in a production that captures all the wit and charm of that delightful operetta. If you are not already a Gilbert and Sullivan addict, now is a good time to start. We can forget much of the Victorian age without regret, so long as we can keep Gilbert and Sullivan fresh as ever.

Eva Le Gallienne's production of *Twelfth Night* is one of the most refreshing productions of the season. With a stylized, fantastic treatment, she gets rid of the trappings that so often make Shakespearean comedies horrible bores: *Twelfth Night* comes out of her rehearsals an entertaining masque, and no one need sneer at the play's antiquity; it lives with this treatment as does *The Little Clay Cart* at the Neighborhood, written several centuries earlier. After seeing her *Twelfth Night*, this department is not going to be content until she does *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*. Miss Le Gallienne's *Viola*, Egon Brecher's *Sir Toby Belch*, and Sayre Crawley's *Malvolio* are notable.

Arnold Bennett's *The Great Adventure* deals with much the same idea and situation used by Pirandello in *The Late Mattia Pascal*: a man, by mistaken identification, is regarded dead. This frees him from much he is eager to disown, but life picks up complications from the new start that are just as perplexing. Mr. Bennett's artist, however, grows comfortable in sentimental romance where Pirandello's *Mattia Pascal* faces the music.

Otis Skinner, long popular, brought a revival of one of his great successes, *The Honor of the Family*, to town on Christmas night. It is a play that dates back before the iconoclastic housecleaning in our playhouses done so notably by Theatre Guild, Provincetown, Neighborhood, Arthur Hopkins, and other moderns—this *Honor of the Family*, with its romantic swashbuckler, *Colonel Bridau*. Its romantic flavor wins it an enthusiastic audience; an audience that demands a curtain speech from Mr. Skinner.

COLEY B. TAYLOR.

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

The Filipino Conference

The conference for Filipino independence announced for December 17-19 has been postponed until February.

Kiel University Establishes Chair of Peace

Kiel University in Germany, founded 260 years ago, has established a Chair of Peace "to promote peace at home and abroad." The first incumbent is Dr. Walter Schücking, a Judge of the Hague Court, one of the five German delegates at Versailles and one of the world's greatest authorities on international law. He was chairman of the German section of the Inter-Parliamentary Union when it met in Washington a year ago.

Military Training in High Schools and Colleges

Opposition to compulsory military training in colleges and high schools was unanimously voted by the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ on November 17th. The disciples have no military training in any of their colleges. The Methodists still have compulsory military training in one of their universities—De Pauw.

Military Training in Japan

An editorial in the Osaka Mainichi discusses Japan's new system of military training for boys under conscription age. The system, inaugurated this summer, for boys between the ages of fifteen and nineteen who have left school, consists of about 200 hours of training spread out over the year and is divided between military drill and studies in citizenship. The course is voluntary, but boys who take it need serve only 18 months in conscription instead of 22. The editorial maintains that the new system is defective in that it attaches undue importance to warlike preparations and loads young minds up with crude knowledge which is worthless to them.

League of Nations Budget

The allocation of the expenses of the League of Nations for 1927 has recently been made public in Geneva. The budget calls for the 56 member nations to contribute a total of \$4,729,738.17. The largest contributor listed is Great Britain which is assessed 105 units or \$489,283.26. This, however, does not include the component parts of the British Empire. The total contribution by the British Empire to the League is \$1,202,238.88. The next largest contributors listed are France and Germany with 79 units each or \$368,127.41 each.

Discussion of War Guilt

Die Kriegsschuldfrage for November carries a translation of the minutes of an important discussion of War responsibility held before the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations and published by the Council as Pamphlet No. 8. Harry Elmer Barnes of Smith College and Bernadotte E. Schmitt of the University of Chicago were the debaters. The significant thing of this enormously interesting report is that it shows plainly the status of the question of war origin. From the war time thesis of the sole responsibility of Germany the discussion today has shifted to a debate on the sole responsibility of France and Russia, or equal responsibility for all. The two debaters may be considered as the leaders in the two camps into which the "revisionists" are divided.

Expenditures for Public Education

Expenditures for public grammar and high schools in the United States since 1900 have been increased seven fold while the population during the same period has increased only by about half. This reflects in part substantial advance in the extension of the public school system and increase in educational opportunity afforded; in part higher teachers' salaries and increased cost of equipment and maintenance.

Immigration Quotas

Early in January President Coolidge signed without comment the report of the Secretaries of State, Commerce and Labor on the so-called national origin immigration quotas, which if put into effect July 1 under the provisions of the present law, will permit admittance of 153,541 immigrants as compared with 164,667 and discriminate heavily against northern Europe, especially Germany. Great Britain and North Ireland would be exceptions, as the quotas would become 73,039 instead of 34,007 as at present. Germany would have only 23,428 compared to 51,227 now admitted.

Lithuanian Political Prisoners

A dispatch from Kovno says the Lithuanian government has opened an internment camp to accommodate its numerous political prisoners. Further, the Imperial Commander of Kovno is preparing to court-martial 30 Lithuanian labor leaders who face execution if convicted. It is reported that the new Conservative Lithuanian Government has arrested more than 150 Poles who are Lithuanian citizens. The newspapers are urging the Polish government to appeal to the League of Nations for an investigation by the League Commission in Kovno.

Firestone Grant Ratified

Harvey H. Firestone's \$100,000,000 Liberian rubber growing project has received final ratification by the Liberian Congress and will be pushed to completion immediately. Two Firestone expeditions have already entered the country and have started harbor and sanitary improvements at Monrovia, Liberian capital, preparatory to actual plantation work in the jungle. Firestone receives a 99 year lease on 1,000,000 acres most suitable for crude rubber growing and on 2,000 acres planted 16 years ago, and now in full production.

American Indian Art

The Clifton potteries of Newark, N. J., are using Indian art motifs, Pueblo designs, in modern manufacture. The new Franciscan hotel at Albuquerque is frescoed in Indian design and El Navaho, a hotel at Gallup, N. Mex., has wall decorations which are exact reproductions of Navaho sand paintings. Indian masks are being copied by students of stage design, and features of the Indian pueblo are reappearing in modern American architecture. According to *The Southern Workman* both artists and manufacturers are now realizing that the freshness and vitality of Indian colors and the character and originality of the best forms and decorative conceptions are qualities too often lacking in contemporary American design.

Rise in Child Labor

Twelve states and 29 cities having a population of 100,000 or more reported to the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of the Interior on the numbers of 14 and 15 year old children receiving work permits during 1924 and 1925. Eight of the states and 24 of the cities reported increases during 1925 as compared with 1924. The 8 states were Alabama, Connecticut, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Tennessee. Four states and the District of Columbia reported decreases—Indiana, Kansas, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

The 24 cities with the percentages of increased child workers in each were Birmingham (20.1), San Francisco (9.9), Bridgeport (29.8), Hartford (18.2), New Britain (37.4), New Haven (14.4), Waterbury (17.4), New Orleans (9.5), Baltimore (12.0), St. Louis (4.8), Jersey City (1.2), Newark (2.0), Trenton (17.3), New York City (2.0), Rochester (16.0), Yonkers (35.2), Philadelphia (24.9), Pittsburgh (8.8), Reading (27.9), Milwaukee, (28.8), Fall River (43.7), New Bedford (33.8), Detroit (13.6), Minneapolis (18.8).

Oncomers

A Page for Future World Citizens

Ellis Island Children

My country, 'tis of thee . . .

CHILDREN are singing. Ellis Island children. Two by two they come, carrying American flags over their shoulders. Their teacher beams proudly. Like a victorious general at the head of his troops, she leads her class to the Registry floor, where a woman social worker plays an organ accompaniment to the singing. There, also, the Commissioner and other officials are gathered, by invitation of the teacher, to see "her children" perform.

"How pretty!" an enthusiastic spectator comments as the little ones keep coming.

They salute the two huge American flags hanging from a balcony; they sing "The Star Spangled Banner" and other patriotic songs. A sign from their teacher and some fifty little hands amiably clasp and form a circle. And now the children sing their carefully memorized school songs, and recite scraps of verses; they seem merry. Then, amidst this play an imaginative youngster breaks loose and looks toward the north and marvels: "You see, there is America!" He talks rapidly in his native language and points to a windowed wall. His neighbor, a head shorter, struggles on his tiptoes, cranes his neck and stares into the fairy-like distance towards Battery Park. "Where? Where? I can't see!" His eyes are searching. Other children break loose; they, too, are eager to see America. The teacher notices the spreading distraction and acts quickly:

"This is the way we wash our clothes, we wash our clothes—," she sings, vigorously executing the motions indicated in her song. She understands her foreign children and is prepared for any emergency. The children soon join in; they like her song. The situation is saved. The little aliens make a favorable impression.

More comments:

"Aren't they cute!"

"Not much different from American children!"

"It's lovely for them to be given an opportunity to Americanize themselves!"

"Absolute Americans!"

The spectators are amused. The performance continues.

Here is little Louigina with her still littler sister at her side. Four black eyes, large and sad. In sunny Italy or on some American playground they would romp and laugh, these dark little sisters. Here they do things mechanically, listlessly. Their father was killed in an automobile accident while his wife and children were on their way to the United States. Now they are detained marked "L. P. C."—Liable to Public Charge.

And here is the sculptor. Do all artists look their calling? A pale, transparent, childish face; elongated, alert features, long black hair temperamentally brushed back; a mere slim child in body, yet giving the impression of a grown person. "The promising artist" Ellis Island has

proudly dubbed him. He has come to America, the land of fulfilled promises, to be adopted by friends of his dead parents. The courts are "sitting" on his case; in the meantime, the little artist passes his time fashioning miniature sculpture.

And little red-headed Freda leads the march. A round, pinkish-white face, clear blue eyes and red hair cut Buster Brown fashion. Freda is pretty. Freda was born in the United States and is at Ellis Island through her father's fault. He was not born in the United States. Freda's mother died while on a trip abroad and the father went in search of his nine-year-old daughter at a chaotic period in Europe. It took him a whole year to locate her and he managed to arrive just after his nationality's quota was exhausted. Now he is being deported. But Freda cannot be deported. She is an American. Lonely Freda remains at Ellis Island until some charitable organization makes room for her elsewhere.

And here are two little children whose father is in Texas. Their mother died at the Island. They are awaiting his arrival and are learning American ways in the meantime.

And little Kayata in her colorful Serbian costume looks like a picture in a book. She watches the teacher and obeys her biddings. The seven-year-old does not know that preparations for her deportation are being made. Her parents are only three years in America and Kayata came "out of quota." Now she must go back and return either when her parents are full citizens or when the quota is open again.

They perform, these children; they seem merry. Some will be admitted, some sent back, some will remain detained indefinitely. In the meantime they play and sing and learn things American. The teacher is kind to them; she understands their lonely little souls. Often she has wiped away a tear running down a little cheek . . .

The spectacle is over. The teacher pairs the little aliens. Freda, flushed and pretty, is leading the march again.

More comments; different comments:

"Pathetic little things."

"This is no place for little tots."

An old man whose throat is tight is moved to make his comment on paper:

*"Sweet land of liberty,
I would belong to thee.
May I come in?"*

*Outside the door I wait,
When shall I know my fate?
Say not I am too late
Entrance to win."*

Rhythmically, following the music, they march and sing:

*My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty—*

MARY FAGIN.



Building Tomorrow's World

When College Students Get Together

FOR this generation it is Milwaukee. In other days it was Indianapolis, Des Moines, Kansas City and Rochester. Which, being interpreted, means that the Christian student movement held its national gathering this year in the famous Wisconsin city.

The religious life of America and indeed of the whole world has been profoundly affected by this succession of great student assemblages. For more than thirty years it has been the custom of the Student Volunteer Movement to hold a quadrennial convention, in the promotion of which the various Christian organizations conducting work on college campuses have cooperated. While the primary emphasis in these gatherings has been recruiting for the foreign missionary enterprise, a notable by-product has been the quickening and vitalizing of the spiritual life of the delegates.

The Milwaukee Conference differed at many points from its predecessors. In the first place it was not held under the auspices of the Student Volunteer Movement but under the direction of the Council of Christian Associations, which is a joint agency of the Student Departments of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. The S. V. M. quadrennial is not due for another year. Second, it was a conference, not a convention. The attendance was purposely limited to about half the number at previous conventions. There were about 2,500 men and women present, representing most of the colleges and universities of the United States. More than thirty foreign countries were also represented.

Third, students themselves had a larger voice than ever before in its deliberations. Several hours each day were kept free for group conferences and discussions, which enabled the students to participate freely. The speakers were ten or fifteen years younger, on the average, than was the case at Indianapolis or Des Moines. Fourth, the main emphasis of the conference differed from previous gatherings of its kind. Whereas the S. V. M. Conventions were primarily concerned with foreign missions, the Evanston Conference with the church, the Louisville and Memphis Conferences with denominational responsibilities, the Ann Arbor Conference with student government, the conferences of the League for Industrial Democracy with economic and international questions the Milwaukee Conference was chiefly concerned with the Christian religion and its relation to the whole of life.

At Milwaukee the theme of the conference was: What

resources has Jesus for life in our world? On successive days the following phases were considered: the accessibility of God, the Fatherhood of God and its implications, human nature and its possibilities, the cross of Jesus or the place of sacrifice in life. This approach was very disappointing to many students and some of the adult leaders, who were eager to have the conference plunge at once into a discussion of current international, racial, economic, political and other social problems.

The conference committee, composed of students and adults, after months of earnest consideration, had decided against this latter procedure, not because they were indifferent to campus and social problems, but because they were convinced that there is little chance of solving these problems until first the lives of potential reformers and deliverers are radically changed. It is true that all too frequently individuals who have had their own personal lives changed have not altered their social relations or participated effectively in the effort to solve economic, racial, international or political problems. The conference committee was fully aware of this fact, but decided, nevertheless, that the most important question now confronting college students is this: where can we find the resources to enable us to become the kind of men and women who will be able to cope successfully with the complex and menacing problems of our civilization? They believe that Jesus discovered for himself more of these resources than any other person has ever been able to do and that the students of this generation ought, therefore, to make a fresh study of his example and teaching.

I am, myself, convinced that this was an extremely wise decision. Building a new world is a terribly difficult and dangerous undertaking. Let us be under no illusions. The giant social evils of our day—economic greed and exploitation, racial discrimination and persecution, political inefficiency and corruption, international injustice and violence, sexual debauchery and crime—cannot be uprooted without a herculean effort which will require more intelligence, courage, kindness, tolerance, perseverance, and faith than most of us now possess.

Consider for a moment the odds against a college student on the campus or back at home. He makes up his mind, for example, that he is going to take seriously the ideal of brotherhood. He decides that Negroes should be treated as children of God, that Japanese and Hungarians are ends in

themselves and must never be discriminated against on account of race. Will his community allow him to treat every man as a brother and every woman as a sister? Do the fraternities and sororities admit members without drawing the color or race line? Can a student mingle freely on terms of brotherhood with members of all other races? Yes, if he is willing to pay the price, and in many communities it is a very heavy price indeed.

EACH year students by the tens of thousands leave the campus and go out to make their places in a semi-pagan world. Can a student maintain his ideals in the face of the terrific odds against him? Let us suppose, for example, that he enters upon a business career, determined not only to be absolutely honest and square in all his dealings, but also dedicated to the task of transforming the present economic order, with all its ruthless competition and heartless exploitation, into a cooperative commonwealth, where the virtues of the family will prevail. Can he survive the cynicism, social pressure and downright persecution to which he is subjected? Or suppose he decides to take up journalism, the legal profession, or politics. Can he maintain his ideals and preserve his own mental and moral integrity?

Any person who watches the stream of recent graduates flowing into the maelstrom of our commercial and political life can scarcely fail to be impressed with the appalling percentage wrecked upon the jagged rocks of greed, blindness, cynicism and cruelty. Some survive, many more perish. A few products of the student movement during the past thirty years have become conspicuous leaders in the effort to abolish the iniquities of modern business and public life, but the total is tragically small in proportion to the number who started out with high ideals and noble aspirations but who soon succumbed and entered the ranks of those who exhaust themselves in the mad scramble for luxuries, privileges and power. The record of the colleges in furnishing leaders for the labor movement is even worse. Many graduates have been willing to step into positions of prominence in the labor movement but when they have discovered that they are not wanted in this capacity, all but a mere handful have dropped out.

Ideals without resources are inadequate. If college graduates are to render effective service in the long struggle for social emancipation they must fulfill two important conditions: First, they must have an intelligent understanding of the nature of the remedies required for our social maladies; and, second, they must somehow acquire the courage, persistence, kindness, forgiving spirit and faith demanded if these remedies are to be applied. The latter is quite as important as the former.

Because I am myself convinced that there are illimitable resources in the experience and teaching of Jesus, I am glad that the Milwaukee Conference took the line it did. It is too soon to determine how successful it was in opening up new possibilities to the assembled delegates. My impression is that it was one of the most fruitful of the long succession of national student gatherings. Certainly the fears of some that the conference might become entirely subjective and divorced from social problems were not substantiated. There was more discussion of war, racial injustice and other pagan aspects of our modern world from the platform and in the

group meetings than ever before. It is true that there was no main address on economic questions, due to the crowded nature of the program and to the inability to secure just the right person for this address. Several speakers did, however, devote much time to economic problems. I do not believe that it is fair to the conference committee to say that there was an "apparent effort of those in charge to focus the interest of the students on what may be called problems of personal religion rather than of social ethics." As I sensed it the purpose of the committee was to help students find the resources, intellectual and spiritual, which will enable them to solve both personal and social questions.

ON the last day the delegates decided that they would like to register their opinions on several social problems. The vote on the war question was as follows: "I will not support any war, 327; I am ready to support some wars but not others, 740; I will support any war that is declared by the authority of my country, 95; I am not ready to commit myself, 356." The vote on the race question was as follows: "I am willing to give to the members of every race the same opportunities that I have, almost unanimous; regarding some races as inherently inferior to my own, I favor keeping them in their places, 11; on my campus I will deny to no one of any race any privilege that I claim for myself, 681; I am not ready to commit myself, 35." The vote on the industrial system was as follows: "While recognizing that there are certain evils in the present capitalistic system, we believe that the system as a whole is satisfactory and in accordance with the principles of Jesus, 38; we believe that the present competitive economic order based on production for profit rather than production for use is wrong, 800; we believe in order to help transform this wrong economic order all students should do all in their power to strengthen and improve the American organized labor movement, 385; we believe that the present economic order should be displaced by a co-operative distributive system and a method of production in which the workers themselves share in the control, 592; while recognizing certain evils in the policies of the Communists who are trying to change our economic order, we believe on the whole these policies are more satisfactory than the present economic system and are nearer to the ideals of Jesus, 57; I am not ready to commit myself, 67."

It is true that the students assembled at Milwaukee are not typical of the colleges of the country. They represent only a small minority of the entire student population. Nevertheless they do offer a tremendous hope for the future. The Christian Associations and other agencies laboring with students will do well to carry even further the present tendency to do *intensive* rather than *extensive* work with students. To develop a few men and women each year whose lives have been radically changed, who are intelligently devoted to the task of building a new world, and who have discovered the resources of power is a far more fruitful endeavor than to reach superficially the entire student body.

Kirby Page

Who Wants to Stay?

(And When I Say "You," I Mean Me)

SARAH N. CLEGHORN

WHO wants to stay in a world so rough on children?—where over a contemplative cigarette, the yearly price of which would have kept some reedy, gangling boy out of the consumptive cotton mills another year, you come to the conclusion that people are really worn out with appeals for famine districts abroad? Unopened in the scrap basket lies the long envelope of the American Women's Hospitals in Armenia. Sneakingly one wanted to propose to the wife that we get along with the old car another summer and give the American Women enough to take care of a few more homeless pregnant women, but one whimsically concluded that the wife has *some* claim on us too, and that the armies of men employed in the automobile industry oughtn't to be thrown out of work.

But whose wife really wants to ride in such a car? Do you, Mrs. Robinson? And what man wants to cling to the job of making it? Do you, Mr. Brown?

Rich, why do you want to stay in such a world? sailing first-class and seeing other people going steerage? What do you care whether you "have a right" to spend "your" money on yourselves or not? What makes you want to? Why be operated upon, for cataract, when something merciful might have grown over your eyes and prevented you from seeing the average Negro dwelling along the railway to Palm Beach? You might have been saved from reading in the paper, as you sat with your back to the warm radiator, how many men were entombed alive in that coal mine disaster in Illinois. What makes you keep on with the practice of law in a world where Sacco and Vanzetti lie year after year under sentence of death, and Richard Ford and Hermann Suhr are still in jail?

Who wants to stay in a world where you preserve your health and your family's health by having collar buttons sewed into the intestines of dogs and left there to raise ulcers and abscesses, so that if you get an ulcer or abscess the doctors can cure you, and keep you in that kind of world five, seven or ten years longer?

Wouldn't it be pleasant to forget, in a cool, comfortable grave, the price your furs cost their original owner in the undinflated currency of fever and terror and thirst in the treacherous hell of a steel trap—or would you rather stay on in such a world, and wake up, on several nights of your vampire life, to think about it?

Who wants to remain a member of society whose diamond necklaces have to be protected by solitary, dark cells where rebellious prisoners go insane?

Who wants to invest his money, or raise his country's flag, on a backward continent, if airships have to drop bombs on native villages to keep it there?

How many of you want to struggle along, with changes of air and violet rays, to stay in such a world? How many prefer

"—the dust, in the cool tombs?"

—Of course there's a third thing we might do—we might change it.

Suppose?

The other day a great dirigible floated over our city, so beautiful in the sunlight that we forgot it was built to drop bombs and not bouquets.

Suppose Jesus had been in command of it and released its burden of death upon the men and women and little children below?

Would the Father have opened and a voice declared, "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased?"

And is there reason to suppose the Father would be better pleased if the bombs were dropped by any of His other sons?

And would it make any difference to Him whether they fell on New York or Boston or Berlin or Tokio?

HAROLD MARSHALL
Manager the Christian Leader.

Glimpses of New China

ANNA ROCHESTER

I NTO the imperial jumble of Hongkong—where I write—puffs a determined little steamer, the river boat from Canton, and as the eye follows it toward the wharf the roofs of the Chinese dwellings come to the forefront of the picture. The Chinese leaders and the Chinese workers that we saw in all the cities from Peking to Canton pass, living, through one's mind. The luxurious semi-tropical British hillside sinks into perspective as the stronghold of a tiny alien group.

These alien usurpers, frantic at seeing their power slipping from them, are shouting their case to the western world. Too often they succeed in drowning out the voices of New China. Endless civil wars, corruption, self-seeking, favoritism—we all know their story against the Chinese. That the Kuomintang is, however, bringing into the military and political arena a conscious public-spirited purpose is, one trusts, the common knowledge of American readers. But in traveling through the Chinese cities and meeting everywhere educated Chinese, both Christian and non-Christian, we have realized with a new vividness the wide diversity of non-political constructive movements carried on today by the Chinese themselves. The scope broadens somewhat as one comes from north to south. In political life and in the awakening of labor Canton is more developed than Peking, but the hopeful currents in north China are also of deep significance.

PRACTICALLY all the Chinese with whom we talked, whatever their own special work might be, reminded us that China's basic problem of illiteracy and poverty is in the villages. The Chinese are attacking from various angles the special needs of this 80 per cent of the population. Shansi Province, southwest of Peking, has apparently made greater strides than any other toward the goal of a school in every village and the elimination of rural illiteracy. In Kiangsu Province, the School of Agriculture of Southeastern University at Nanking, along with its research and experimental farming and its training of a comparatively small number of experts, has begun extension work in the villages, with motion pictures, posters, and popular lectures. In general, the villages along the few railways and the water highways are most aware of the changing thoughts in China's cities, but from distant Shensi—and also from Honan and Shantung—come reports of the beginnings of revolt against the crushing demands of the military governors on the village people. Only in Kwangtung (Canton) and Kwangsi provinces, however, are the farmers actually organized for the improvement of their economic condition. The Kuomintang encourages the demand for lower rents and has created in the provincial government a department especially concerned with the interests of farmers.

REVOLT against the industrial oppression in the treaty ports has been slowly developing for some years. It was enormously stimulated by the May 30th tragedy and

the flare-up of anti-foreign activity. But actually, both Chinese and foreigners assured us that foreign and Chinese mills in Shanghai have little difference in working standards. Conditions recalling the worst abuses of unregulated Western industry a hundred years ago could continue until now only because the workers in China have had a struggle for existence and a competition for jobs more terrific than the western world can imagine. It is true that lax administrative standards in Peking and in the provinces have left China's acceptance of international industrial conventions a dead letter. But even more important has been the conflict of authority in foreign settlements and in Chinese territory. The British consul at Hankow wrote, for example, in 1924 that under no circumstances would the owners of the five British factories there submit to inspection or interference from any Chinese authority. And in the Shanghai International Settlement, since May 30th gave a flashlight exposure of Chinese feelings, no further attempt by well-intentioned foreigners even to fix an age limit for child workers has seemed wise. Now the workers themselves are revolting. Ricksha pullers, tobacco workers, cotton mill workers, railway workers are organized in Hankow; in Shanghai over 70 per cent of all workers in the city representing all industries and most of the crafts are in unions (at present banned by the authorities but still secretly growing); in Canton, where modern industry is relatively undeveloped, nearly 300 genuine labor unions have replaced the old-time guilds.

It is perhaps significant for the New China that a Chinese and not a foreigner owns the one silk filature in the eastern Yang-tze district (at Hangchow) in which machines instead of the hands of girls and children pick the cocoons from the boiling water and start the delicate unwinding process. And it seems not quite accidental that the Commercial Press of Shanghai, a large Chinese publishing house, has the distinction of being the one firm in the city which deals with a genuine labor union of its employees. At Canton the other day the settlement of the lock-out in the Arsenal was hurried by the threat of a general strike, but the terms of the settlement and the fair admission of wrong on both sides illustrate how the reasonableness of the Chinese can be applied in a difficult crisis.

Of course these hopeful forces are only a part and not yet the controlling part of China. It is still true that the future swings in the balance. Experienced foreigners who know China well make conflicting prophecies. Most of those with whom we talked, whether foreign or Chinese, see long dark years ahead before the New China emerges, at peace within her own borders, stable in government, and generally literate. Friends of China will insist that this shall not be used as a pretext for indefinite postponement of action on the unequal treaties.

The most ardent "leftists" apparently see no alternative to a difficult economic development, with (perhaps mitigated) evils of private capitalism preceding any possibility of an effective socialized industry. The function of Borodin and

his handful of Russian associates is quite clearly that of invited advisers on the technique of government and organization. They are encouraging the awakening of labor, but they are also helping the Kuomintang leaders to see the pitfalls of a government hard beset and uncertain of tenure in a country where workers are beginning to feel their power and are presenting embarrassing demands.

HOW much foreigners can help China during the next few years depends chiefly on their willingness to serve and not to dominate. The revolt against foreign interference goes deeper than the vagaries of hot-headed students or the self-will of politicians. The quiet determination of the anti-British boycott continued in Hongkong and Canton from the end of June, 1925, to the middle of October, 1926 (and still partly effective at the end of November), was a most civilized and popular response not merely to the firing from Shameen on June 23rd but to the prevailing attitude of foreigners toward the Chinese throughout the last hundred years. Most missionaries are, I suppose, guiltless of the intolerable manner toward Chinese and the complete ignorance about China which characterize the foreign business communities. Of course there are exceptions in each group, but as more than one Chinese explained to us the chief reason that Americans are now regarded with greater friendliness than the British is the fact that most of the British in China are of the business group and most of the Americans in China are missionaries. America has of course a tradition of greater official friendliness but our diplomatic blunders, our sliding in under "most favored nation" clauses to share the privileges gained by other nations' bullying, and our lining up in recent years for united action of the Powers are heavily scored against us. On the whole, however, the personal relations of Americans and Chinese the country through have hitherto built up friendship rather than resentment.

But this alone will not enable the American missionary to continue his usefulness. In every city we met some one or two or even half a dozen missionaries who are sensitive to the present situation and know that after years of talk about "devolution" the time is more than ripe for foreigners to serve under Chinese leadership, but they realize that they are still a handful among the thousands of foreign workers in China. Very many even of the small group who have committed themselves as favoring immediate definite steps toward abolition of extra-territoriality and restoration of China's customs autonomy are frankly unready to make a venture of faith in the Chinese in relation to their own special piece of work. The few Christian groups which have made this venture are reaping a great harvest of good will. We happen to know personally about the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Congregational Church Mission in North China, and the union of several denominations in Canton working as the Church of Christ in China; doubtless there are others.

THE situation presses hardest on the foreign educator. He is responsible for a campus full of fine modern buildings: would the church contributors at home continue to meet the deficits in running expenses if the president and

a majority of the trustees were Chinese? The Chinese Christians with whom we talked are much more ready than the foreign workers to insist that schools and colleges should register with the government, which means not only a Chinese majority in the administering body but elimination of all compulsory worship and religious instruction: how many American Christians realize the positive strengthening of Christian influence which would result? A small minority of mission schools have already made religious instruction voluntary. The continuance of foreign financial help for education is important; China is still far from having enough schools and colleges, and until the country's finances are straightened out—and especially until the self-seeking northern war lords are eliminated—China's own funds for education are limited and uncertain. The foreign educator feels anxiety for his institution also because certain of China's own colleges have suffered from factional quarrels and from unreasonable student dictatorship, but the Chinese themselves are well aware of these difficulties and the most turbulent period is already passing. Incidentally, it seems to the impartial observer that faculty standards in the better Chinese universities are quite as high as in most mission colleges. One discerning foreigner, speaking to us of a well-known mission college reputed to be liberal and pro-Chinese, said: "They are holding on to property and foreign control; if they continue they will find only a dead husk in their hands."

Another difficulty is the failure of many foreigners in China to understand the new social forces that are stirring or the shifts in basic viewpoint that have come in recent years. It was clear from what many Chinese said to us that the missionaries are not commonly supposed to understand the new life of China. Whether this impression is fair I am not qualified to judge, but even if it is unfair it betrays a considerable measure of failure on the part of foreign Christians.

According to Arthur Hummel, outstanding among foreigners in China for his knowledge of current Chinese writings, the educated Chinese of today are definitely ahead of Americans in frank self-searching criticism. Repeatedly the Chinese with whom we talked confessed their need of foreign help in education, in engineering, and even in administration. But the foreigners whom they want must bring special skills which they are willing to use for the furthering of Chinese plans for reconstruction. If they are educators they must have an intelligent humility about western civilization. The Chinese intend no longer to be dominated even with benevolence. They respect our professed ideals and insist now that we shall live up to those ideals.



Potato Pickers. —Woodcut by J. J. Lankes

The "New Negro" Takes Another Step

ROLAND A. GIBSON

IN the fall of 1925 Harlem was agog with a new excitement. The Pullman porters were organizing. Many of the so-called "leaders" of the Negro race were sceptical. They were not opposed to the organization of the 12,000 colored workers into a trade union, but they didn't believe it could be done. Years of exploitation by the white race had forced them to organize against white domination and white prejudice. The Negro worker was denied admittance into most trade unions and in time of strike, therefore, he acted as a strike-breaker. He was race-conscious, not class-conscious.

But there was one Negro leader who was far from sceptical about the possibility of organizing the Negro porters. For years A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen had been struggling to get out each month a small monthly magazine called *The Messenger*. In it Randolph preached the gospel of socialism and trade unionism to those of his race whom he and his comrades could induce to read it. They sold copies on the street corners at socialist meetings, criticized Negro leadership and urged the workers of Harlem to organize and fight for better living conditions and a "new social order," which alone could win their final emancipation.

IN 1917 he left college and helped conduct Morris Hillquit's campaign for Mayor, in Harlem. He was assisted by Frank Crosswaithe, a young worker who had likewise become imbued with socialism and who is now shoulder to shoulder with Randolph in the campaign to organize the Pullman porters.

In the succeeding years Randolph and Crosswaithe ran for various state offices on the Socialist ticket. In 1922 Randolph was the party's candidate for Secretary of State, and two years later, during the La Follette campaign, Crosswaithe polled 135,000 votes for the same office.

When Marcus Garvey was touring this country in 1922 and '23 enlisting "subjects" for his proposed kingship of Africa, Randolph was one of his bitterest opponents. He regarded the Garvey movement as a species of black imperialism designed to oust all whites from Africa and establish black kings to "sit on the backs of the black workers." He believed it endangered the economic standards of Negro workers by encouraging a doctrine of race consciousness against all other races. This doctrine cut clearly across the class lines which Randolph was trying to draw in the minds of Negro workers. For that reason he went to Philadelphia in 1922 and conducted a campaign against the Garvey idea among the members of the longshoremen's union in that city. (The longshoremen's union is one of the few American labor unions which admit Negroes on the same basis as white workers.) Randolph's campaign helped to break

the backbone of the Garvey movement, which received its greatest blow when Garvey was sent to Atlanta penitentiary for using the United States mails to defraud.

IN the light of this background of struggle, it is not difficult to imagine Randolph's delight when he was asked to become General Organizer for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Here was a group of 12,000 Negro workers holding a monopoly of all the porters' jobs in the Pullman service: the "aristocrats" of black labor, as the locomotive engineers are the "aristocrats" of white railroad labor. There was no problem of overcoming the opposition of white labor leaders, no white union to claim jurisdiction over the trade and oppose the admittance of their Negro brothers. It was the logical group to organize first and there was no tougher nut to crack than the Pullman Company. A real challenge was presented to Philip Randolph and he has proved himself capable of meeting it.

The Pullman Porters' Brotherhood celebrated its first anniversary on August 25th, 1926. At that time practically 50 per cent of the porters in the Pullman service had been organized, had paid their \$5 initiation fee and become full-fledged members of the Brotherhood. It is doubtful if this record of a year's organizing activity among the workers of a single trade could be duplicated from the annals of American labor history.

It should not be construed, however, that this is the work of a single man. In the first place, the economic situation in which the Pullman porter found himself was the prime *raison d'être* for the organization campaign. The wage of the porters ranged from \$67.50 to \$90.00 a month, but 68 per cent of the men received the minimum wage. Tips were supposed to make up the remainder of a living wage. Any porter will tell you that this is a myth. Tips seldom aggregate more than \$20.00 a month, with an occasional man on a good run making as high as \$35.00. The men are asking for a minimum wage of \$150.00 a month and the abolition of the tipping system, which they claim denies them their "manhood rights."

The porters also demand pay for preparatory time. At present they are required to be on hand for at least five hours before a train leaves, making up beds, etc., without receiving a cent of pay for their labor. Their pay begins when the train leaves and stops when the train is due at its destination. Last March, to stave off the organizing campaign, the Pullman Company gave the workers a concession of 18 cents per hour for delayed arrivals in addition to a raise of five dollars a month in wages, but this is not a material change for the better. The porter is still required to make 11,000 miles every month. Any time spent over the 400 hours per month which such a run takes is not

paid for. The Brotherhood demands 240 hours as the basis of the monthly wage and pay for overtime, which is the arrangement under which the Pullman conductors, organized as one of the railroad brotherhoods, now work.

ANOTHER evil which the porters seek to abolish is the practice of "doubling." This means leaving for another point immediately after the porter's arrival from his regular run. For instance, during holiday rush traffic a porter running from Chicago to New York is often required to "double" out to Boston without any rest in New York or opportunity to see his family.

The porter must shine the passengers' shoes with his own polish, must buy his own uniform and go without sleep on his run. Three hours' sleep a night is about all he ever gets, and on a long run of three or four nights like the one from New York to Miami, Florida, this means a terrible strain on a man's physique.

In other words, the porter has grievances. And not the least of these grievances is the "company union" which the Pullman Company forced on its workers in 1920. Like the company unions in other industries, it is called the "Employees' Representation Plan." All the grievances which a porter may have are supposed to be adjusted by the Grievance Committee established by the plan, but experience has proved that most of these cases are adjusted *against* the porter who has the grievance. The porters under this plan are also supposed to have the right to vote themselves higher wages at the yearly wage conference if they so choose, but history does not record any such occurrence since the plan was organized. The fact that more than half of the porters have revolted against the plan shows how little confidence they have in it.

The company has frequently resorted to somewhat shady tactics to control the machinery of the Employees' Representation Plan. One example of the not altogether "moral" pressure used occurred on February 28, 1924. On that date the Second Assistant District Superintendent of the Pullman Company in the Pennsylvania Terminal, New York City, presented the following memorandum to Mr. F. R. McGuire, the Receiving Cashier:

"The following P. T. (Penn. Terminal) porters have not as yet voted. In order to secure every possible vote, please withhold their pay checks until O. K'd by the chairman of the Election Committee, R. Lancaster."

A list of 45 names followed, one of whom was later discovered to have been in the employ of a private industrial detective agency for years. Roy Lancaster is now Secretary-Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It appears he did not fall for this kind of democratic election.

William Des Verney, a former official of the Pullman Company's welfare organization, known as the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, is now an organizer for the porters' union. He, too, became disillusioned of "company unionism" and decided to sacrifice his job as a porter, which he had held for 37 years, to throw himself into the organization work. He was one of a committee of four who organized the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association in 1915.

"I labored under the impression," he says, "that the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association would prove to be a useful instrument in improving the conditions of the porters, but time has shown it to be a marvelously efficient instrument

operating in the interests of the Pullman Company."

The association provides that each porter shall pay \$26.00 a year as dues, for which he receives \$10.00 a week when he is ill—for 12 weeks only, \$200.00 for disability and \$1,000 at death. This gives the worker a stake in the Pullman Company, because if he should leave the service he would have to pay 50 per cent more dues to remain in the association.

WHEN two of the leading figures in the Pullman Company's "Union," Lancaster and Des Verney, left that union in 1925 to help organize a real union of their own, the Pullman Company got worried and began to advertise in the Negro press the virtues of its various plans for helping its employees. The editors of some of the Negro papers were thus constrained to support the company against the workers in their struggle. Those who did came in for much excoriation at the hands of Organizer-Editor Randolph. The battle waxed furious. The churches were divided on the issue. At first Randolph and his co-organizers were denied the use of the churches in the various cities where they went to organize. But gradually the ministers, as well as the editors of the Negro newspapers, were won over to the cause of the Brotherhood. And today we see the interesting spectacle of the editors of conservative colored newspapers pleading the cause of a labor organization in their editorial columns. We read of church after church from Harlem in New York to the Negro section of San Francisco opening its doors to Randolph, who began his radical career as a "dissenter."

Last spring the Committee on Arrangements for the Sesqui-centennial in Philadelphia invited Mr. Randolph to represent the Negro at the opening session. On the appointed day, Randolph took his place beside Secretary of State Kellogg and Secretary of Commerce Hoover on the platform at the Philadelphia exposition. Kellogg mouthed patriotic platitudes and denounced the radicals. Hoover spoke of prosperity. Randolph recited the achievements of a downtrodden race and prophesied further emancipation for his fellow-colored-workers through the medium of labor organization. The Ku Klux Klan was represented on the platform by a man who tried to prevail upon Mayor Kendrick to stop Randolph from speaking. It was bad enough to invite a Negro to speak from the hallowed rostrum, but to invite a black "red" was going a bit too far!

Nevertheless, Philip Randolph spoke to the end, and the real spirit of '76 burned anew in the hearts of many of his countrymen. The spirit of Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator, was likewise more manifest in this young Negro than in the record of Lincoln's blood son, Robert Todd Lincoln, who for years presided over the destinies of the Pullman Company.

Now the case of the Brotherhood is before the United States Railroad Mediation Board. Whether this board will recognize the Brotherhood as the bona fide representative of the interests and wishes of the Pullman porters or will grant recognition to the company-controlled "employees' representation plan" is a matter for conjecture only. If the latter proves to be the case, the Brotherhood's fight for life will be just beginning and it will need the support of every citizen interested in social justice and the advancement of the Negro race and the working class as a whole.

International Industrial Competition

ERNEST M. PATTERSON

THE signing of a steel production agreement on September 30 last by representatives of the steel interests of Germany, France, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Saar has started a flood of discussion. Some of this discussion has been merely denunciation. Some has been due to fear of injuries from so huge an organization but little has been thoughtful. In America at least we seem to be suffering from a sort of "trustphobia." In a more or less hysterical fashion we are condemning the agreement without analysing it. We are fearful lest in some way so huge a combine, along with others like it, will seriously injure us.

This agreement among steel producers is not the only agreement of the sort in existence but it may be used as a text for a few comments on the problems that are created by the "international trust." The producers of steel in the countries named have bound themselves to limit their aggregate production for the present to 27,587,000 tons per annum, although the rate may soon rise to 30,560,000 tons. Of this output 43 per cent is to come from Germany, 31 per cent from France, etc. More or less than the agreed amounts may be produced but there is a penalty of four dollars per ton imposed for any excess above the quota and a reimbursement of two dollars per ton on the amount by which production may fall below the quota. These payments are to be made into or taken from a fund for the purpose. There are numerous other features but these are the outstanding ones.

We may assume at once that it is not pure altruism that has led to the creation of this organization. Of course, those who have formed the combine have done so because they hope to gain—either from higher prices or from a steadier market or in some other way. But it does not follow that such an organization is an unqualified evil or even a serious danger. Certain new problems are created, steel producers and consumers in other countries must face a new set of facts and modify their policies but there is no reason for hasty assumptions that the movement is wholly bad.

AN American might wish to approach the problem by comparing carefully costs of production and the prices that are now being charged or that may be charged by members of this combine with costs of production of American steel. But such comparisons are not easily made, in fact can be made accurately only by experts who possess a complete knowledge of costs of production both here and in Europe. Whether any individuals possess this comprehensive information I do not know. If they do it is by no means clear that they will make it public. In the absence of the data we can merely admit our ignorance and look for indirect evidences. They are certainly not abundant. Our steel magnates have made no public statements that indicate their

concern, while the stock dividend just announced by the United States Steel Corporation indicates that our largest producer of steel is in a strong position.

There are a few pertinent facts that should be kept to the front. Modern economic life is not merely complex—it is increasingly so. Investments in many lines of industry are becoming larger and larger, not merely in the United States but in Europe as well. The overhead costs in manufacturing are larger than in the past both in the aggregate and as a percentage of total costs. As a result slight fluctuations in the volume of output are extremely serious. Most costs persist. A slight decline in the volume of sales means losses and financial distress. Profits are more and more dependent on a large output. The profit comes not so much from high prices for each unit sold as from the sale of many units at a small gain per unit. Under such conditions regular operation of a plant at or near maximum capacity is necessary. An abundance of illustrations can easily be found.

ANOTHER fact often mentioned, but forgotten almost as often, is that economic organizations are not easily kept within political boundaries. For highly significant reasons we organize limited areas of territory for governmental purposes into states or nations. We then think of the economic activities within each of these national areas as more or less isolated or even self-contained. Of course, they are not and they are becoming less so each year. Political and economic spheres are not coterminous. For example, iron and steel production is not a German activity or a French activity. It is an activity in which coal, iron ore and scores of minor products from many parts of the world are needed. The economic organization that must be built up for the manufacture of steel sprawls across national boundaries and in a most literal fashion reaches out into all parts of the world for raw materials, for markets, for capital and even for its labor supply.

Americans should have little trouble in appreciating the significance of this. For many years we have watched a similar though more limited development within the United States and have tried to curb it. Our success with anti-trust legislation has been dubious and many declare our efforts have been futile. At any rate large industries with huge investments have grown and have grown persistently. Their tendency to grow in a similar manner in the international field is more pronounced each year and need not surprise us. The movement and the reasons for it are fundamentally the same as those that have existed for years in the United States. Trusts are organized partly because of the lure of monopoly profits but partly because under the conditions we have sketched vigorous competition with cutting of prices quickly bankrupts competitors. Competition be-

tween giants may be the life of trade but it is apt to be a feverish, erratic and abbreviated life for most of the competitors, often with no compensating gains to the public.

ORGANIZED efforts to stabilize production have appeared in many directions. Brazil has done it with the coffee industry through governmental intervention. After our first outburst of irritation over this slight to the *laissez-faire* dogma we have been little disturbed and probably have been injured less than if the Brazilian industry had become disorganized. Rubber output has been controlled with a certain amount of cooperation from the British Board of Trade. Whether we in America have been injured at all is not easy to say. A certain number of our political leaders were stimulated to great vocal activity with some resulting irritation. Again adequate facts on all phases of the problem are not available. Almost the only specific developments to which we can refer are the securing of certain rubber concessions in Liberia and a renewal of the discussion about rubber production in the Philippines. Whether the American consumer is worse off than he would have been if the Stevenson plan of the British had not been adopted or if the rubber producing industry had remained unorganized is probably not capable of demonstration. In the meantime the President of the United States expresses satisfaction that federal aid could be given the cotton producers of America in carrying over the large cotton crop of 1926.

In so far as huge combines such as that of iron and steel are able to control prices they will do two things. First, output and prices will be steadied to the advantage of all concerned, including the consuming public. Second, they will adjust prices as best they can to give them the largest net return. But this may or may not mean high prices. The largest gains often come from selling a larger amount at a lower price than a smaller output at a higher price. If there is any tendency discernible at all it is in just this direction.

BUT for the purposes of this paper there is a more significant point to be emphasized. Some people are quite sure they know what causes war. Unfortunately for those of us who listen they do not agree in the diagnosis. One says it is capitalism, while another declares that Bolshevism is the explanation. Some find the explanation in race, others in religion or in a primal urge of some sort. Probably the causes are many and no one is wise enough to list them all and give to each its share of blame. But among them it seems clear should be included economic rivalry for raw materials and for markets.

There is no more terrible thing in the world than war or the friction and irritation that lead to war. Trusts and high prices are as nothing by comparison. It is a thousand times better for the European steel producers to combine than not to combine, better for them to compose their differences, stabilize production, or even to divide world markets and raise prices than to oppose each other indefinitely, each group appealing for the support of its government with the resulting ill will that makes wars easier even if it does not actually cause war.

WHETHER their cooperation will raise serious problems for the American steel producers I do not know. If it does let us hope they will join the combination. Per-

sonally I would rather contemplate world trusts in steel, in meats, in chemicals and in all other lines of production that we can name than to face what seems to be the only other possibility—a terrible economic struggle with the economic forces of each country organized for a bitter fight against the similarly organized economic life of every rival country.

World trusts will lessen the problems in the field of international economics. A new problem will be created to which we must give attention. Some form of supervision or control may be necessary. If so, it must be devised. But international combines must be accepted as a fact. The forces bringing them into existence are too powerful to be resisted and the benefits they will bring are not to be ignored. We could not check them if we would and we ought not if we could. Instead the world must accept them, study them and learn how to benefit most from them.

Sand Crickets

THEN, as we took the turning,
Left the little street
Red in the dusk and burning
Purple under our feet—
At a breath the moon swung up full and a yearning
Yellow color beat
Flat diminishing hammers on the sea, choked and churning
In a froth of golden heat.

And the sea! The throaty strangle, the terror and green
of it!

The lift, the black flash under the curve, the heart-breaking
lean of it!

The whistle, the curdling crash, the mad aquamarine of it!
All the violent furrow dwindling down to a dull moist hiss;
The heave and shimmer of the moon creasing water and
sand; and this

Moon-dribble, moon-wash slithering over an interminable
precipice. . . .

And still, from all that boom and hurry of color we kept
Not the drenched spaces and hollows roaring with light,
Nothing tremendous to scale with the sea and the night,
But the narrow sound that needled the darkness and crept
Buzzing at an even height

Into your heart—till you tried to say something—and suddenly wept.

JOSEPH AUSLANDER

"One day I sat at the shores of a river in the Himalayas. I took out of the water a beautiful, round, hard stone and broke it in little chips. The inside was entirely dry. This stone had lain in the water a long time, but the water had not penetrated into the stone. Just so is man here in Europe. For centuries he has been surrounded by Christianity; he has been completely immersed in its blessings; he has lived in Christianity. But Christianity has not penetrated into him and does not live within him. The fault is not with Christianity, but hardness of heart. Materialism and Intellectualism have made the hearts hard. So I am not surprised that many in this country cannot understand who Jesus is."—*Sadhu Sundar Singh's judgment of Europe.*

One Day in Seven

RAYMOND FULLER

MY walk that Sunday led me from the village, down the railroad tracks, past the newly opened gravel-pit, then out into the madly singing woodlands of my own Vermont. The day was drunk with spring. "Breathes here a man with soul so dead"—I even set it to a new music as I walked. Morning was at ten, and May; the moments were glittering, as primal as can be minted by the Coiner of Worlds when He has the green-and-gold metal of paradise to stamp.

Now I was abreast of the pit. The Titan tools of the sure giants who build iron highways stood silent, idle beside the vivid wounds they had gnawed in earth's side. The scooping spoon of a steam-fed Polyphemus poised in mid-air, as before a mouth sated by a six-day feast. Neighborhood meadowlarks could this day flirt unhurried wings between the rails; chipmunks could play along the ties. Belching smoke, hissing steam, the sour sweat of flesh, rose not from the pit. The lash of dollars was laid by. Sunday, the hook on which Power hangs the knout; Sunday, truce between capital and conscience. . . .

Alongside the string of dago boarding cars where dwelt the diggers and the lifters, swarthy men were cooking dinners over arches holed in the dirt. Others swept out the barracks they tenanted in the interiors of the cars. A few shaved before microscopic bits of glass niched on brake-beams and bumpers. Some were cutting one another's hair. Along the little stream that seamed the pit, several were washing coarsely patched garments; already the nearby pasture fence was hung with all manner of clothing in patchwork arrangements of color. Loudly arguing and guffawing a group played at quoits with horseshoes. One ear-ringed figure contorted himself and a pencil against a jogged tie-pole, a writing-desk as suited to the job as a gate at Stonehenge. To mother, sweetheart,—or steamship agent?—I quandered.

Down the tracks behind me came two returning from the village each shouldering a beer keg. To be chosen for this!—a trust beyond all argument!

Here was a community, a political and social unit for a time, a below-land level dwelling place, which the state of Vermont does not charter. These ants of the pit are existing on the very rudiments of American living. Everywhere absence of woman's hand and heart; government glances here with a scowl and neighbors pass by afar off. Here patriotism would be a figure of speech, an academic allusion. Comfortable editors can call these men "our violent and criminal element," "our foreign problem," and not mention that the influences of love, family, culture and social intercourse are denied them. . . . Thousands of miles between them and a home, aliens here, driven by "progress" to live like cowards and to work like cattle—these, and there was deep pity in my New England heart, these *dagoes*! Poor devils!

WHEN I returned by the gravel-pit evening was falling. While some distance away, I heard an accordion, played as only Slav and Latin born to it can play. "Rigo-

letto," "Fra Diavolo," Puccini, Mascagni. . . . The instrument stopped. A tenor took up the air, a chorus leaped to support him, a finale of almost hysterical power. Cheers, whistling, handclaps, applauded. Then another song. . . . As I approached I saw that the setting on the stage of this little world had been transformed. The backdrops of poverty and squalor were hid. A new company trod the boards.

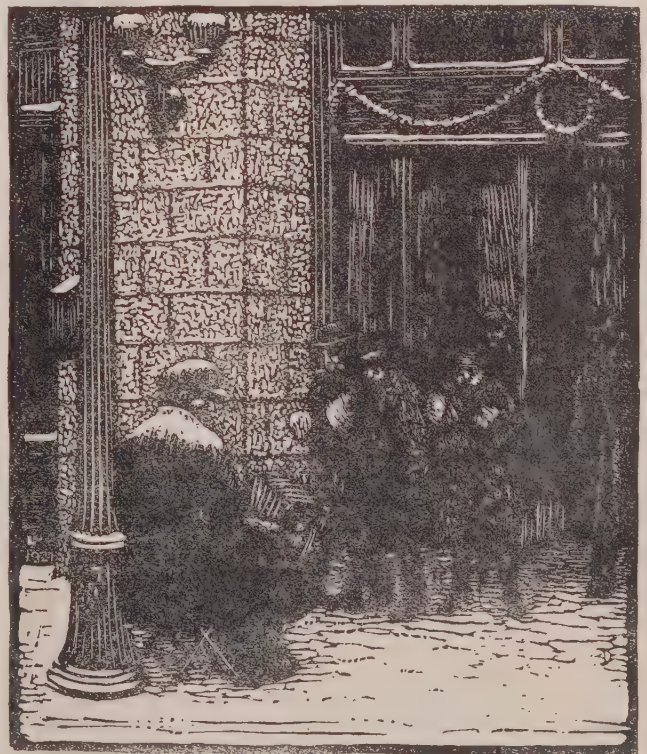
In the deepening twilight, grouped about a ring of a half dozen fires, lay nearly fifty men, all listening in rapt silence while from their midst now a flute murmured the softest, most magical responses that I thought ever flutes had answered to flutters since Marsyas the Great. The red coals here and there cast into glowing relief a mustachioed face and eyes that were far away and dreaming.

In the far background I lingered; a tide of humility deepened slowly over my Yankee soul. I could not go, though I was alien and intruder. Above their heads and mine

"Heaven rolled her curtain down
And pinned it with a star."

Point after point of diamond light cut through the crystal-line green dome of evening; song after song the flute played on, softly, tenderly, longingly, as though the zephyrs of Amalfi listened or Sicilian waves hushed to hear. . . .

Americanize them! I breathed, groping homeward,—these, these *Italians*!



A Modern Minstrel
—Woodcut by J. J. Lankes

Books on the Far East

The Awakening Orient

A PUBLIC librarian soon finds that a large number of books on the Orient by European travelers will go on the shelves reserved for two divisions of literature: fairy tales and propaganda. This book—*Our Far Eastern Assignment*¹, by Mr. Felix Morley, does not fall into either class. Mr. Morley is neither a Marco Polo nor a "nervous Nellie." He is a keen observer sent over into the Orient last year by "The Baltimore Sun." He has facility in getting at the facts. He is unencumbered with Nordic or national prejudices and has a keen nose for "bunk" of every sort. As a result "Our Far Eastern Assignment" is a clear and timely report of the political issues of the present day in Japan, China and the Philippines. The book was written in August, 1926, which makes it the most up-to-date book on present movements in the Orient.

Morley's book recalls the lines of Lewis Carroll:

"He thought he saw a rattle snake
Addressing him in Greek.
He looked again and found it was
The middle of next week."

There are a great many people in Europe and America who, when they look at China, see nothing but a rattle snake making weird, incomprehensible sounds. They lift up holy hands at the spectacle of Bolshevism. Mr. Morley has taken a second look and does not see rattle snakes but does see the middle of next week and helps his readers see the formative influences which will control in the next few years.

One of the best tests of the value of the author's observations is to check them by the events which have happened in the five months since the book was written. On three matters this check is possible, on the increase of strength by the Canton Chinese Government, the great success of the Chinese boycott against Hongkong, causing a complete somersault in British-Chinese policy, and the Carmi Thompson report on the Philippines, with its reception by the Filipinos. In each one of these major events in the Orient Mr. Morley's prophecies and estimates are accurately borne out.

There are five chapters on Japan. Perhaps the freshest and most interesting feature of the Japanese chapters is that on the Japanese Labor-Farmer Party. These words have a familiar ring to us in the United States even though our own Farmer-Labor Party has dwindled down to one dentist in the United States Senate. The book prophesies an influential future for the Japanese Labor Party providing the pitfalls of Communist intrigue are avoided. Mr. Morley thinks there is a possibility of the Labor-Farmer Party playing a role in Japan roughly comparable with that of the British Labor Party in Great Britain.

The insufferable stupidity of the Japanese Exclusion Clause in the United States Immigration Act comes in for blistering scorn. Unfortunately, the book was written before we were treated to the spectacle of an Admiral in the United States Navy dragging out a Japanese war scare as a patriotic smoke screen to hang in front of Doheny and Fall. I do not imagine that what Mr. Morley thinks of that spectacle could be printed on any but asbestos paper.

The main part of the book is occupied with descriptions of present conditions in China, particularly the rise of the Canton Government and the Chinese demands on the Western nations. Particularly interesting and new to many readers will be the favorable estimate made of the so-called "Christian general," Feng Yu-Hsiang. Mr. Morley is strongly of the opinion that General Feng has been badly slandered by assiduous foreign propaganda. This vicious hostility to

Feng has been due to Feng's efforts "to deepen the revolution and thereby forward its original aim of ridding China of the encroachments on her sovereignty."

Of the present Canton Government Mr. Morley says it is "well-grounded, growing in strength, completely independent of Peking, assured of whole-hearted support by Soviet Russia and completely contemptuous of foreign treaty rights." It is called Bolshevistic in the loose sense of the word but not Communistic. While Mr. Morley admits the great Russian influence in Canton he feels that it is not the prevailing influence. Indeed, the first problem of the Canton Government is the gradual elimination of a Russian influence which has been so pronounced as to make Chinese protest against other imperialisms sound rather silly.

There is many a keen thrust at the complacency of the United States throughout the book. The Chinese policy of the United States is characterized as "a fairly consistent policy of getting as much out of China as Great Britain, while letting that nation bear the onus for methods employed."

The three specific demands of China on the Western powers which Mr. Morley argues as thoroughly justified are: (1) rectification of the situation in Shanghai; (2) tariff autonomy; (3) abolition of foreign extraterritorial privileges. "Whether or not the Chinese problem is to become increasingly more dangerous from the foreign viewpoint depends primarily on whether or not the justice of the Chinese claims in these three points of controversy is adequately apprehended abroad."

In regard to the Philippines, after a thorough discussion of the present anomalous government, he argues for a dominion government for them very similar to that which Canada has in the British Empire. Under this arrangement an American Governor-General would continue in office at Manila but his functions would be supervisory rather than executive. The pressure put on the United States by the rubber interests to keep the Philippines is well described with a satirical thrust at the "Babbitts" of the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines because of their clamor for a governor who can "tear the guts out of the mountain for the mineral it contains." We are made to sympathize with the Filipinos in their disgust and fear of a ruthless, efficient "gut-tearing" civilization which threatens exploitation.

"Our Far Eastern Assignment" by its honesty and its wealth of up-to-date facts is of great value in interpreting the baffling Orient of to-day.

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK.

The Philippine Republic

FOR those who are unaware of the strides toward unity and self-government made by the Filipinos during the interim between Spanish and American domination, or for those aware of it but desiring more complete information, much of which is from fresh sources, one of the best things to read is the paper-bound Columbia University Study entitled *The Philippine Republic*, by Leandro H. Fernández². Its 199 pages contain well-balanced and dependable facts on the revolution of 1896-7, the new revolt in 1898, the war for independence, the gradual extension of insurgent authority, the constitution of the short-lived Republic, its fiscal system, its political ideology, and its downfall. In addition, the book contains a bibliography of the utmost value.

D. A.

¹ Published by the Association Press. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop. \$1.25 postpaid.

² Published by Columbia University Press. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$3.75.

A Play of Japanese Good Will

BEHIND discussion of the Philippines lurks the ever-present bugaboo of Japan, which the Hearsts and other jingos keep before us. Sensible and informed people know that the true Japan is not to be feared if our own insulting attitude does not continue to prevail. But how best reach our people with a knowledge of the real Japan? One way, said Tracy D. Mygatt, was through the drama, that potent educator of the ages. Her play is *The Sword of the Samurai*, which was awarded honorable mention by the Federal Council of Churches' Drama Contest and which appears in Volume II of *Religious Dramas*, published 1926 by the Century Co.¹ The play has been successfully produced by amateurs, and where good amateur talent is available, it deserves to be used by churches, societies, settlements, clubs,—in short, wherever the subject of Japanese-American friendship presented with dramatic power will awaken Americans—and where will it not?

Without altering the basic truths and principles involved in the passage of our Exclusion Act, its effect on Japanese, the difficulty it created for Americans sincerely friendly to Japan, and the wave of distrust of all things American which engulfed the Japanese people, Miss Mygatt has wisely taken some chronological liberties for the sake of dramatic force. In the atmosphere she has created, she makes the reader feel the beauty of Japanese character at its best, as many of us have learned it from Japanese friends. Subtly you are made to realize the extent to which American ideas have penetrated into Japanese customs and thought; and despite that occasional staginess never lacking, apparently, in any play of the "message" type, most of the characters seem vital and ring true. Masakiyo, the Elder Statesman, is a character of genuine force; and the young aviator, Takeshi, inevitably finds his counterpart in youthful Japanese one may have known as students in this country. If the American characters seem stilted, it may be that the Occidental is more critically informed about them, or that in their situation, sincere as they are, one cannot help but direct to them a little of the disgust felt toward the arrogant stupidity of his fellow-countrymen in general. At any rate, the play is one which should not be overlooked by the alert seeker of unusual dramatic material.

D. A.

A Record of Conquest

ALTHOUGH it has been referred to briefly in *The World Tomorrow* hitherto, reference should again be made, in this number, to a pamphlet published by Kirby Page, 347 Madison Ave., New York (10c per copy), on *The Philippines and the United States*. This pamphlet is the gist of the excellent work by Moorfield Storey and Marcial P. Lichauco on *The Conquest of the Philippines* and contains a foreword asking for the setting of a "definite and early date when full independence will be granted," signed by Judge Florence E. Allen, Newton D. Baker, George A. Coe, John Dewey, William Green, and sixty-one other well-known American citizens.

D. A.

A German Appraisal

THE geographic section of the well-known Teubner publications has issued a volume on *The Philippines*, by Walther Tuckermann (*Die Philippinen*). In 128 pages the geology, history, economics, racial problems, and culture of the Islands are surveyed. The American period occupies about a fourth of the book. A good bibliography adds much to its value. An excellent guide through Philippine problems. (Published by B. G. Teubner. Through the World Tomorrow Bookshop. \$1.50 postpaid.)

H. C. E.

OF GENERAL INTEREST BUT OF SPECIAL WORTH

Race and Civilization

THE title of Frank H. Hankins' book, *The Racial Basis of Civilization*¹, sounds like some more "superior race" propaganda breaking into print. But the author declares and the reader soon discovers that the business of this book is to debunk "the pernicious propaganda relating to the Nordic doctrine." Professor Hankins essays this task with authority of much knowledge and great clarity of exposition. Although generous and fair, he wields a critical pen like a two edged sword. As he falls upon the giants of the Nordic arena one senses high combat and sniffs the blood of the slain.

His thesis holds that all important historic groups have been mongrel and that all great culture areas have been places of race mixture. Part I,—the best two-thirds of the book—is a criticism of racial dogmas. The "fallacies, exaggerations and inconsistencies" of Arianism, Gobineau-ism, Teutonism, Social Selectionism, Celticism, Anglo-Saxonism and American Nordicism are mercilessly exposed. The myth of "pure races" is exploded. The nationality idea is shown to be responsible for it. This idea breeds the egotism of race unity, purity and superiority. So nations, like England, come to think of themselves as "the English race." Propagandists such as Gobineau, Chamberlain and MacDougall feed this egotism on "scientific myths."

You finish Part I with a feeling that the "race dogmatists" are completely routed. Through a wilderness of literature and a welter of history they have been relentlessly pursued. But will this be the end of them? Scarcely! The public will love them still and follow them more than any scientific profaner of sacred myths.

Part II takes up problems treated but incidentally in Part I. The race concept as related to Nationality, Equality, Mixture, and Purity is discussed. Race is shown to be an ensemble of variable, inheritable physical traits distinct enough to differentiate their possessors from the rest of mankind. There is overlapping of groups. None is absolutely distinct. Race is a generalized concept, so that it is difficult to find an individual fully representative of his type.

Race egalitarianism is castigated. Standing for different ensembles of traits, race means not difference in kind but in degree. "So it is with racial inferiority and superiority." No race has a monopoly of superiorities, but one may have more than another of those traits "which are the most important for the development of advanced culture." This turns out to be capacity for breeding superior men.

The Negro race, for example, fails by this crucial test. It produces few superiors and trails white civilization. By contrast the Jews and the Japanese hold their own with Europeans even with handicaps as great as those of the Negroes. Anti-Semitism has been as much of a barrier against the Jew as race prejudice against the Negro, and the Japanese have had fewer contacts with the Whites than have Negroes. Thus Hankins argues. Space prevents reviewing his evidence, but it is neither conclusive nor convincing on the Negro. Other facts refute it and show the absurdity of the comparison cited. Homer nods! The confounder of the racialists fails as a self-critic.

¹ Published by Alfred A. Knopf. Through The World Tomorrow Bookshop \$3.25, postpaid.

¹ Also in pamphlet form, separately, for 25c per copy.

More cogently the advantages biologically and sociologically of race mixture are argued. He shares none of the common fears on this, but he does fear for the future of civilization, because the superior classes are not breeding. These classes—as revealed by vocational status and mental tests—are the sources of culture. If they fail, civilization slumps. Hankins would save it by eugenics. Like eugenicists in general he sees none of the many fallacies in the superior class dogma which he champions.

I would not, however, magnify the few biases of the book, for its merits are great and it will rank as a noteworthy contribution to sociology.

NEWELL L. SIMS

The I. O. U.'s of the War

TO its interesting and valuable list of economic studies the Institute of Economics has added another one of importance—*World War Debt Settlements*. By Harold G. Moulton and Leo Pasvolksky.¹ For the most part it is a statement of the facts about the debts and the debt settlements. These facts include the origin of the debts, the usually accepted theories of international debt payment, the settlements that have been reached and the issues in suspense. About two-thirds of the volume is made up of appendices which include important documents bearing on the general topic.

Probably most Americans have thought the international debt question settled. The Dawes Plan has been adopted and is said to be functioning smoothly, the debts due the American government from numerous foreign governments have been funded and payments under the funding agreements are being made, except by France (this exception being due to the fact that the agreement with that country has not yet been ratified). Yet it seems worth while to write and publish a volume that records the facts to date and closes with a chapter dealing with "issues in suspense." To some such a book should be a shock and to others an irritant. For all who care to understand the problems that still remain for solution it should be a source of information.

Among the difficulties yet to be met is the fact that the ability of Germany to pay the 2,500,000,000 marks per annum contemplated as a minimum under the Dawes Plan has not yet been tested. The sums due in the earlier years have been only about half that amount and payments thus far made outside Germany are not only small but have been more than offset by new German loans abroad. Also there is as yet no decision regarding the number of years during which the payments are to be made. In other words the principal sum is still nominally the 132 billion marks agreed to in May, 1921. Even if 2,500,000,000 marks per annum could be paid this would be only a fraction of the interest charge on the principal and the principal sum itself would not be reduced.

Another set of problems is connected with the debts due our government. Our debtors (except France) are making their payments but are as a group borrowing more from us than they are paying to us. The fact that the payments are to our government and that the new loans are private does not alter the fact that as countries they are not paying and that as a country we are not being paid. In time the present trend will doubtless be modified. If it is we then face an altered situation.

When this change comes, as it surely will, new adjustments will be necessary. An intelligent appreciation of all that is involved is important. That the American public is not yet ready to meet the difficulties ahead and assist in a proper solution is abundantly clear to all who read and listen carefully. An interesting illustration is to be found in some of the reaction to the recent pronouncement on the subject by 42 members of the faculty of Columbia University.

This review has not attempted to outline the book in detail. Instead the reviewer has used his allotted space in urging that the book itself be read.

ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON.

¹ Published by the Macmillan Co. Through the World Tomorrow Bookshop, \$2 postpaid.

HONORABLE MENTION

"What books have you recently found especially worth while?"
In response to this query we have received the following titles:

MABEL CRATTY, Executive Secretary of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A.: *Traveling, History of England* (Longmans, Green).

WILLIAM P. MERRILL, Pastor of Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City: *Jesus—Man of Genius*, by Middleton Murry (Harper).

LESLIE BLANCHARD, Executive Secretary of the Student Council of the Y. W. C. A.: *Heroes of Smokeover*, by L. P. Jacks (Hodder and Stoughton).

Reading List on the Philippines

The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States, by Storey and Lichauco. Putnam.

The Philippines. A Treasure and a Problem, by Nich. Roosevelt. Sears Co.

Reports of the Philippine Commission since 1900. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Reports of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs to the Secretary of War (Annual). U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Census of the Philippine Islands (Bulletins). U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Through the Philippines and Hawaii, by L. G. Carpenter. Doubleday, Page.

History of the Philippines, by D. P. Barrows. World Book Co.

Philippine Civics, by Malcolm. Appleton.

Independence of the Philippines (Pamphlet). University of Texas.

The United States and the Philippines, by D. R. Williams. Doubleday, Page.

Economic Conditions in the Philippines, by H. H. Miller and Storms. Autobiography. Mark Twain (See index). Doubleday, Page.

Philippine Independence: Shall It Be Granted? Foreign Policy Assn. H. C. E.

L. I. D. CLASSICS

Send \$1 for 11 brilliant pamphlets on Industrial Democracy and International Problems, by Norman Thomas, Stuart Chase, Harry F. Ward, Harry W. Laidler, H. S. Raushenbush and others

to

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
70 Fifth Avenue, New York City

ARTHUR PONSONBY, M. P.

(Only appearance in New York City)

head of the movement to obtain a
million pledges not to support any future
declaration of war by Great Britain,

WILL BE GUEST OF HONOR AT A DINNER OF THE

Women's Peace Society

Hotel Astor, New York, January 25, 1927, 7 P. M.

For Reservations, at \$3.50 a plate, write at once to

Women's Peace Society, 20 Vesey St., New York

BETTER BOOKS for ALL-AROUND READING

Any of the following books, all of which have been carefully selected after a reading by at least one member of the staff, may be ordered from The World Tomorrow Book Shop at the regular retail price. We pay the postage.

The Oil War, by Anton Mohr, translated from the Norwegian by A. G. Jayne. New York: Harcourt, Brace. 5½x7½. 262 pages. \$2.50. This book, like Tramerie's, emphasizes a very important factor in international relations. Mohr in his last two chapters gives additional information and discussion.

Amble With Anatole France, by his Secretary, Sándor Kéneri (Mme. Georges Bölöni). Translated from the Hungarian by Emil Lengyel. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 5x8. 335 pages. \$5. In his sixty-sixth year France and Mme. Bölöni started their travel through Italy. This book is mainly comments made on that trip. It portrays the convalescence of a great spirit from a great sorrow.

Turgenev—The Man. His Art and His Age. By Avrahm Yarmolinski. New York: The Century Co. 1926. 9x6½. 386 pages. \$4. The life and loves, the letters and labors of one of the greatest nineteenth century Russians. Told for the first time in a beautiful book.

A Dictionary of Modern English Usage. By H. W. Fowler. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1926. 7½x5¼. 742 pages. \$3. A splendid handbook of the King's English by an eminent lexicographer. Useful to all writers.

Napoleon. The Man of Destiny. By Emil Ludwig. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: Boni and Liveright. 1926. 9½x6½. 707 pages. \$5. The brilliant biographer of the last German Emperor turns to Napoleon. Combining psychological character analysis with a rich historical background he has created a very readable book.

My Own Story. By Fremont Older. New York: Macmillan Co. 1926. 8¾x6. 340 pages. \$2.50. A famous Western editor tells entrancingly of his life and work.

Jesus the Man of Genius, by J. Middleton Murry. New York: Harper. 1926. 9 x 6. 373 pages. \$2.50. A distinguished literary critic has written an exceptionally fresh and stimulating interpretation. Invaluable!

The Law and Procedure of International Tribunals, by Jackson H. Ralston. Stanford University Press. 1926. 9¼x6½. 512 pages. \$5.00. Not intended to be read through at one sitting! Recommended as an eye-opener for those who believe that international law can be codified in a single conference.

The Economic Background of the Gospels, by Frederick C. Grant. New York: Oxford Press. 1926. 156 pages. \$2.50. This little book helps to make the teaching of Jesus more vital and stimulating than ever.

The Magic Flight, by Yossef Gaer. New York: Frank-Maurice Co. 1926. 8¾x6¼. 181 pages. \$2.00. A group of Jewish tales and legends.

The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis 1800-1860. Edited by Carter Godwin Woodson. Washington: Washington Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. 1926. 9½x7. 672 pages. \$5.00. An interesting collection of letters in which free Negroes prior to the Civil War comment upon a very wide range of subjects.

A Short History of Civilization, by Lynn Thorndike. New York: Crofts and Co., 1926. 9¼ x 6½. 619 pages. \$5.00. Nationalistic history is gradually giving way to the history of civilization—a happy change. This *Short History* is packed with information and shows a surprising scope in time and place. It has learned the lesson of Wells's *Outline*, but of Spengler's *Untergang*, just as hard to avoid as to adopt, there is little evidence.

Prohibition at Its Worst, by Irving Fisher. New York: Macmillan, 1926. 7¾ x 5¼. 255 pages. \$1.75. Professor Fisher was a leading spokesman for the Drys at the Senate Hearings on Prohibition in April, 1926. In this book he summarizes the case for "total abstinence" against "temperance."

The Brotherhood of Man. A Pageant of International Peace. By Alice C. D. Riley. New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1924. 9¼ x 6. 50 pages. \$1.50. With the exception of Episode VII, which admits only the soldiers of the Allies to brotherhood, this pageant looks very promising. Like most spectacles of this kind, its staging is a rather ambitious undertaking.

Angel, by Du Bose Heyward. New York: Doran Co., 1926. 7¾ x 5¼. 287 pages. \$2.00. If you read "Porgy" you will take up "Angel" eagerly. The group mind of the Carolina hill-people in the one is portrayed as well as the Negro community in the other. Gabriel Thornley is drawn as painstakingly as was Porgy. But the conclusion belongs into a movie thriller. It is too much an external "act of God" rather than a natural, integral part of the story.

Civilisation or Civilisations, by E. H. Goddard and P. A. Gibbons. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926. 5 x 8. 241 pages. \$2.50. An essay in the Spenglerian philosophy of history written to give the gist of Spengler's "Decline of the West." Valuable to those who have already carefully read Spengler's book.

The Golden Day, by Lewis Mumford. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926. 5 x 8. 283 pages. \$2.50. The Golden Day in imaginative literature and philosophy had its peak in the work of Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Hawthorne and Melville. The substance of this book was delivered in a series of lectures on the Development of American Culture before a group of European and American students in Geneva, August, 1925.

Tar, a Midwest Childhood, by Sherwood Anderson. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926. 5 x 8. 346 pages. \$3.00. The foreword and first part of this book, in which the father's life, before his marriage, is described, are written in a beautiful and whimsical style. It seems to me that the first half of the book, which is so satisfying, is distinctly better than the second half.

The Hard Boiled Virgin, by Frances Neuman. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926. 7½ x 5½. 285 pages. \$2.50. Without conversation and with no scenes reported, the mind and emotions of Katherine Faraday are, in a new literary style, brilliantly portrayed.

CORRESPONDENTS

Philosophic writer, developing stage; pursuing study of highest conception ideal personality, leadership and character in human activities; desires correspondence with writers consistent seekers of truth and improvement; for mutual intellectual stimulation and friendship. Write Napoleon Bernard, 3640 Waldo Ave., N. Y. C. Personal details honorably exchanged.—Adv.

FREE

To anyone interested in the voting question, I will send free, to any address, a leaflet describing a new method of voting—concurrent voting, a method that is based on an entirely different principle from any now in use.

WILLIAM CROCKER

BOX 314

PRESCOTT, ARIZONA

THE DUANE PRESS

Printers of the Better Kind

46-48 New Chambers Street

New York

Phone Beekman 0139

**61 Days
EUROPE
\$490.00**

Save 30%

All expenses, first class hotels. More motor travel; 30% less. Motor tours \$7 a day up. Booklet 100 tours free.

ALLEN TOURS, Inc.
915 Little Bldg. Boston, Mass.

WORKERS FOR PEACE

INTERNATIONAL

**COMITE INTERNATIONAL D'ACTION DEMOCRATIQUE
POUR LA PAIX,**
34 Boulevard Raspail, Paris (7eme), France.

L'Internationale democratique et ses grands Congres annuels se proposent surtout une oeuvre de desarmement moral.—Pres. Marc Sangnier. Sec. Gen. Georges Hoog.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION,
522 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Organized to promote international good-will through the interchange of professors and students with foreign countries. Stephen P. Duggan, Dir.; Mary L. Waite, Ex. Sec'y.

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION,
16 Red Lion Sq., London W. C. 1, England.

Unites members in more than 50 countries in international, non-class, brotherhood, repudiating war and social injustice. Publishes monthly News Sheet. Secretaries: Oliver Dryer, Roger Soltan.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM,
U. S. Headquarters, 1403 H St., Washington, D. C.

An International Organization with 24 National Sections pursuing a common program to end war through world organization for social, political and economic co-operation. International Pres., Jane Addams; Nat. Chairman, Hannah Clothier Hull; N. Y. State Chairman, Mrs. John Jay White; New York Office, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

WOMEN'S PEACE SOCIETY,
20 Vesey St., New York City.

The underlying principle of this Society is a belief that human life should be held sacred and inviolable under all circumstances.—Mrs. Henry Villard, Chmn.

WOMEN'S PEACE UNION OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE,
180 Lexington Ave., New York City.

Affiliated with War Resisters' International. Members pledged never to take part in any war. Advocating amendment to Federal Constitution making war illegal.

**WORLD ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP
THROUGH THE CHURCHES,**
70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

To organize the religions of the world to the end that the spirit of good will may prevail and international peace be established. Pres., William P. Merrill; Gen. Sec., Henry A. Atkinson; Chairman Exec. Com., Fred B. Smith; Educational Sec., Frederick Lynch; Extension Sec., Linley V. Gordon; Field Sec., Harry N. Holmes.

NATIONAL

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Where the need is greatest, to demonstrate the "Better Way" by practical Christian service.—Ex. Sec. Wilbur K. Thomas.

ASSOCIATION TO ABOLISH WAR,
7 Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Is radical, opposing war even in time of war, holding it always the flouting of common sense and decency. Distributes literature gratis.

—Pres. Charles F. Dole. Ex. Sec. Henry W. Pinkham.

**BUND HERRSCHAFTLESER SOZIALISTEN IN THE
REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA.**

Klosterneuburg (near Vienna), Schiesstattgraben 237, Austria. Propagates the principles of Anarchism, as taught by Kropotkin and Tolstoy. Issues a weekly. "Erkenntnis und Befreiung." Whole organization absolutely against war, also against defensive war, absolutely anti-militarist and against all violence. Address, Pierre Ramus.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION,
383 Bible House, Astor Pl., New York City.

Uniting people of many lands who repudiate war, exploitation and racial discrimination; and are committed to a way of life creative of fellowship and unity. Secretaries Paul Jones, Nevin Sayre, Geo. Collins.

FELLOWSHIP OF YOUTH FOR PEACE,
104 East 9th St., New York City.

A program at home and abroad to overcome every denial of friendship including militarism and economic imperialism. Literature upon request.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS NON-PARTISAN ASSOC., INC.,
6 E. 39th St., New York City.

A program at home and abroad to overcome every denial of friendship including militarism and economic imperialism. Literature upon request.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS NON-PARTISAN ASSOC., INC.,
6 E. 39th St., New York City.

Provides authentic information on League, World Court and International Labor Office by Speakers, Literature, Motion Pictures, Slides, Program, and a Reference Library.—Ex. Sec. Chas. C. Bauer.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR,
532 17th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Clearinghouse publishing valuable monthly Bulletin (25c a year); "America First" co-operation posters; educational goodwill material for teachers and schools. Samples sent on request. Ex. Sec. Frederick J. Libby.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN,
2109 Broadway, New York City.

Creation of will to peace through education; gradual disarmament; adherence to world court; ultimate abolition of war and substitution of compulsory arbitration.

PEACE AND SERVICE COMMITTEE, Philadelphia.

Yearly Meeting of Friends (Race Street). Represents a Religious Society which adds to an historic stand against the whole war system, a present-day concern for saving a civilization from militarism and imperialism. This concern is one aspect of our faith in the brotherhood of man, dependent on a Divine Father.

SOCIETY TO ELIMINATE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR,
Wellesley, Mass.

As economic barriers between nations are abolished and more equal opportunities to all races extended, armaments will automatically reduce and wars cease.—Isaac Sprague, Pres.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE,
132 West 12th St., New York City.

Unites men and women of all shades of religious, social and political belief who have determined to give no support to any war.—Jessie Wallace Hughan, Sec.

**WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION (Incorp. under the laws of Mass.,
July 12, 1910),
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.**

Publishes World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, documented brochures on international questions; information service; American agents for publication of League of Nations, International Labor Office and Permanent Court of International Justice.—Wm. H. P. Faunce, Pres.; Edwards Cummings, Gen. Sec.; Denys P. Myers, Cor. Sec.

CORRESPONDENCE

Floyd Dell Says

E. MERRILL ROOT'S article, "From Genesis to Exodus," in the January issue seems to me the truest and most significant piece of criticism of American literature and life that has appeared since the war; and the emergence of such a kind of criticism is an auspicious beginning for the New Year. I enclose five dollars, which might be used in sending marked copies of that issue to people who would appreciate the article.

Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

FLOYD DELL.

As Opportunity Sees It

WE welcome THE WORLD TOMORROW under the editorship of Kirby Page and Devere Allen. We can think of no magazine of its kind that is doing work with quite the same magnetism for results. Of especial interest to us is its calm but effective column *Not in the Headlines*. Truth gets a hearing in THE WORLD TOMORROW, and we are thankful for it.

OPPORTUNITY, A Journal of Negro Life.

"The World Tomorrow" in China

AT a recent staff meeting, a committee studying into the question of foreign publications which should be permanently available especially for our Research Library listed your magazine as among those of special importance to us.

Our plan includes the assignment of THE WORLD TOMORROW to be faithfully read by at least one member of our staff, who will make a monthly written report. This report will be duplicated and sent to each branch in China in order to keep all our force in close touch with live articles of the day.

Shanghai, China.

E. L. HALL

Is Jesus the Way?

THERE has been in my mind for a long time a criticism I have wished to make of the policy of your magazine. I think the criticism is more pertinent and more urgently needed since Mr. Kirby Page has assumed the editorship. I am of the opinion that the religion of Jesus does not contain all of the truth to be found in the world. The rational way of life would seem to me to be to accept that which can be useful in furthering the happiness of all mankind wherever it may be found. I think in many respects the Philosophy of the Greeks, with their emphasis upon finding the mean in life and avoiding the extremes into which Jesus often fell, is much superior to the philosophy of Jesus, and is more nearly complete in its application to life. Or we might look to the east. . . . Thus my criticism is that we should not attempt to base a social order on the religion of Jesus, but rather on principles which would lead to greater human happiness, wherever they may be found.

Seattle, Washington

E. S. OLIVER.

Democracy and Majority Rule

AFTER reading your "Dictatorship and Democracy" number, I am moved to make a comment that is not worth defending. The fundamental principle of the so-called democracies of today is majority rule. Majority rule is accepted by both friend and foe of democracy as being fundamental. The doctrine that majority rule is democratic is a lie and an illusion. This doctrine is responsible for more bad political thinking and action than all other factors combined. No man can truly say he understands our political troubles who believes majority rule as being the true principle of government. Majority rule is no more democratic than a rule by

THE NEW SCHOOL for Social Research

SPRING TERM

February 21-May 13.

- E. R. A. SELIGMAN:** Economic Interpretations of History and Doctrine. Thursdays, 5:20 P. M.
NORMAN J. WARE: Recent Developments in Economic Thought and Practice. Tuesdays, 8:20 P. M.
WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY: Critique of Corporation Policy. Wednesdays, 8:20 P. M.
PAUL SINGER: Current Problems of International Finance. Mondays, 8:20 P. M.
FREDERICK R. MACAULAY: Business Forecasting. Fridays, 8:20 P. M.
CHARLES M. JOSEPH: Labor and the Law. Thursdays, 8:20 P. M.
ARTHUR F. PAYNE: Systems of Vocational Guidance. Fridays, 5:20 P. M. Psychology of the Worker. Wednesdays, 8:20 P. M.
NATHANIEL PEPPER: Imperialism and Its Practical Implications. Thursdays, 8:20 P. M. The Present Status of Adult Education. Tuesdays, 8:20 P. M.
HARRY E. BARNES: Intellectual History of Contemporary Times. Wednesdays, 5:20 P. M. The World War: Its Causes and Aftermath. Wednesdays, 8:20 P. M.
IRA S. WILE: Conduct Disorders of Childhood and Adolescence. Mondays, 5:20 P. M.
FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS: The Possible Significance of Psycho-Analysis for Certain Social Relationships. Mondays, 8:20 P. M.
DUDLEY B. SHOENFELD: Interpretation of Conduct Disorders. Thursdays, 8:20 P. M.
HARRY A. OVERSTREET: The Newer Clues to Human Behavior. Mondays, 8:20 P. M.
MORRIS R. COHEN: Romantic Currents in Contemporary Thought. Tuesdays, 8:20 P. M.
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN: Conference on Fundamental Problems in Adult Education. Wednesdays, 8:20 P. M.
EDUARD C. LINDEMAN: Adult Education—Method and Content. Mondays, 5:20 P. M.
LETA S. HOLLINGWORTH: Individuality. Mondays, 8:20 P. M.
SILAS BENT: Modern Journalism. Thursdays, 8:20 P. M.
GORHAM B. MUNSON: American Literature, 1900-1927. Tuesdays, 8:20 P. M.
STARK YOUNG: Theatrical Season, 1927. Tuesdays, 5:20 P. M.
PAUL ROSENFELD: Modern Composers (lectures and piano). Fridays, 8:20 P. M.

Twelve lectures in each course

Course tickets, \$15

465 West 23rd Street

New York City

Progressive Schools

Alabama

SCHOOL OF ORGANIC EDUCATION

Fairhope, Ala.
For boys and girls from kindergarten to college. Boarding and day school. Under the direction of Marietta Johnson.

Arizona

THE PHOENIX SCHOOL

Day and boarding school for boys and girls. Unique in its western setting. Address D. H. Markham, M.A., Director, 2838 North 7 Street. September to April. May-August Maricham Camp, Ozark Mts., Fayetteville, Arkansas.

Illinois

THE JUNIOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Downer's Grove, Ill.
Write Miss Lucia Burton Morse.

Maryland

CHEVY CHASE COUNTRY DAY SCHOOL

Write Mr. Stanwood Cobb, 17 Grafton St., Chevy Chase, Md. Particular attention to gifted children. Special boarding department for pre-adolescent children.

Michigan

MERRILL-PALMER SCHOOL

71 Ferry Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
A foundation endowed for teaching home-making and child care. A limited number of students of senior and graduate rank sent by various colleges and universities.

New Jersey

THE MODERN SCHOOL

Stelton, N. J.
Initiative, Self-activity, Creative-activity.
Write Mr. Alexis C. Fern.

SAINT JOHN'S SCHOOL (Non-Sectarian)

Boulevard and Tower Hill Road, Mountain Lakes, N. J.
Write Mrs. Henry B. Wilson.

New York

THE CITY AND COUNTRY SCHOOL

165 West 12th St., New York, N. Y.
Experimental in practice.
Write Miss Caroline Pratt.

THE ETHICAL CULTURE SCHOOL

63rd St. and Central Park West, New York, N. Y.

HOFFMANN SCHOOL FOR INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Lobby Castle, Fort Washington Avenue at 193rd St., N. Y. C.

JEFFERSON SCHOOL

23 West 87th St., New York City.
A Progressive Day School for Boys and Girls.
Write Sylvia J. Marks.

LOCUST FARM SCHOOL

Poughquag, N. Y. (Dutchess County).
For younger boys and girls.
Summer Camp, June 1st to October 1st.
Write Clarinda C. Richards.

MANUMIT SCHOOL

Pauling, Dutchess County, New York.
A modern school for the children of workers.
Write William M. Fincke.

MOHEGAN MODERN SCHOOL

Mohegan Colony, Crompond Road, Peekskill, N. Y. Co-educational. Special attention to creative work. Have a few vacancies for boarding pupils.
Write Jas. H. Dick.

Ohio

ANTIOCH SCHOOL, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Associated with Antioch College and offering a complete education for boys and girls from kindergarten to college. Boarding Department.
Write Mr. Edwin Zazitz.

Pennsylvania

OK LANE COUNTRY DAY SCHOOL

of Philadelphia.
A progressive school for boys and girls from kindergarten to college. Write Francis M. Froelicher, Headmaster.

France

MAISON-ECOLE INTERNATIONALE

8, Rue Guichard, Paris-XVIIe.
To learn French language, literature and art according to modern methods. Education of character, Co-operation in household work, Games, etc.
Write Madame Andree Jouve.

a minority or a king. They are all essentially the same. They all mean a rule of some by others. In actual practice they all result in the same abuses. True democracy means equal rule—equal freedom—equal restraint. No system of voting based on the principle of majority rule can give us these. The key problem of government is the voting problem. Until we find some way of making every voter's vote equally effective we can never have a true democracy. I believe concurrent voting—a system of voting based on the same principle as that employed in selecting the twelve jurors from the twenty-four talesmen—solves the problem.

Prescott, Arizona

WM. CROCKER

Important International Conferences

THE World Conference on New Education meets at Locarno in Switzerland, Aug. 3-15, 1927. It will discuss "The true meaning of freedom in education." Several opportunities have been arranged for to visit the new schools of Europe. Information may be gotten from New Education Fellowship, 11 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1, England.

THE International Economic Conference will meet in Geneva on May 4, 1927. A great number of economic subjects will come up for discussion in the interest of "prosperity and peace." The conference is under the auspices of the League of Nations.

THE World Federation of Education Association will meet in Toronto, Canada, August 7-12, 1927. A rich and attractive program is promised. For further information address Dr. E. A. Hardy, 124 Duplex Avenue, Toronto, Canada.

Peace Prizes

THE American Arbitration Crusade is conducting a campaign to induce the Government to negotiate "outlawry of war" treaties with all nations. To stimulate interest the following prizes are offered: \$100 for the best letter, editorial or article appearing in any publication having at least 5,000 circulation; \$100 for the best public demonstration or concerted endeavor for obligatory arbitration; \$100 for the best cartoon; \$100 for the best slogan; \$100 for the best sermon. Details may be had from William Floyd, 114 East 31st St., New York City.

HARRY ALLEN OVERSTREET, A.B., B.Sc.

(Professor of Philosophy, College of City of New York)

Will deliver a Course of Six Lectures at

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH AUDITORIUM

Park Avenue and 34th Street, New York City.

On Thursday evenings at 8:15 on

"THE SCIENCE OF EXTENDING PERSONALITY"

Feb. 17—Starting with the Right Ideas About Ourselves.

Feb. 24—Submitting to Wrong Ideas About Ourselves.

Mar. 3—Extending Personality Through Tools.

Mar. 10—Building an Environment of Minds.

Mar. 17—Adventure in Personality.

Mar. 24—Gaining Confidence in Personality.

Course tickets, \$3.50, can be secured in advance at the Office of the Community Church, 12 Park Avenue, New York City. Single Admission 75 cents.

SEND FOR ILLUSTRATED CIRCULAR

Two Poems on Youth

I

THE old men sit and mumble over their bones:
 "Once, ah once . . . but that was years ago. . . ."
 Every old man of the old men mumbles and drones:
 "Once, ah once . . . and so it was . . . and so . . ."

And Youth, still prodigal and still untamed,
 Reminiscent only of the future, spurns
 The mumbling of the old men and the maimed,
 Spills his hot blood for beauty—Youth burns!

Youth forever bursting the cocoon
 Of safety; cracking danger like a grape
 Against his palate; straining for the moon;
 Hurdling all the hazards of escape!

Youth, like a young horse snuffing the new air,
 Whinnying after April like a bell;
 Pawing the sunrise like a golden stair;
 Youth like a stallion letting out his yell!

Impetuous, impatient, stamping sorrow
 Like a snake under his hoofs' glitter, Youth,
 His gaudy nostrils scenting the To-Morrow,
 Proud and terribly beautiful and uncouth;

His sinew quivering under the whips that flake it
 With a red foam, his flanks striped raw with pain,
 Youth reaches for the crimson whip to break it—
 Recoils under the sting—and reaches again!

II

WE have had enough of hearth-ease, enough
 Of the comfort-sodden soul, the slipped sloth:
 If there be flame in you, if there be stuff
 Of the swift blood laughing every rebuff
 Down, unwrap your heart of its heavy cloth,
 Shake out the dust, stamp out the stealthy moth
 That feeds on disillusion and fat ease!
 There, at your window, gloom the deep-chested seas!
 The slaty peevish gulls, the plunging ships
 Go down the wind together; and together
 The wind and tide go in the sun-washed weather;
 And the sun is clinging with sullen fingertips
 To the horizon . . . inch by inch light slips . . .

Go then, strip off your sick and woollen sloth!
 Look, the young moon horned like a Visigoth!
 Night is a blue leopard spotted with silver stars!
 Adventure crouches where the sunset chars
 To a last livid puff! Go, leave behind
 The nervous walls, the satisfied books, the kind
 Cruelty of too much companionship, the blind
 Routine! Go, empty of hands, cleaned out once more,
 For the incalculable To-Morrow! Shut the door!

JOSEPH AUSLANDER

Labor Press

ADVANCE, THE (weekly) \$2.00
 Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. 31 Union
 Sq., N. Y. C. Jos. Schlossberg, ed.

ARBITRATOR, THE (monthly) \$.60
 Radical digest of news. 114 East 31st St., N. Y. C.
 William Floyd, ed. Also Publishes Social Progress, a
 Handbook of the Liberal Movement, \$2.50.

COLORADO LABOR ADVOCATE (weekly) \$1.00
 Owned by State Federation of Labor, State Council of
 Carpenters, Denver Trades and Labor assembly and 28
 local Unions. Room 519, E. and C. bldg., Denver, Colo.
 Frank L. Palmer, ed.

EMANCIPATOR (tri-weekly) \$3.00
 Official organ of the Working People (Socialist). St.
 Thomas, Virgin Isls. of the U. S. Rothchild Francis, ed.

FACTS FOR WORKERS (monthly)
 Combination news service and economic bulletin. Labor
 Bureau, Inc., 2 West 43d St., N. Y. C. George Soule and
 Sara Bernheim, eds.

FUR WORKER, THE (fortnightly) \$.50
 International Fur Workers Union of U. S. and Canada,
 9 Jackson Ave., L. I. City, N. Y. Morris Kaufman and
 A. Rosebury, eds.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST, THE (weekly) \$2.00
 Advocates revolutionary industrial unionism. Emergency
 Program Branches of the I. W. W., P. O. 3291, Port-
 land, Ore. James Lance, ed.

JEWISH DAILY FORWARD (daily)
 Endorsed by Socialist Party, United Hebrew Trades,
 Workmen's Circle. Forward Assoc., 175 E. Broadway,
 N. Y. C. Abraham Cahan, ed.

JUSTICE (weekly) \$1.50
 International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, 3 West
 16th St., N. Y. C. Max D. Danish, ed.

LABOR (weekly) \$2.00
 Owned and edited by the railroad labor organizations.
 Dedicated to the service of mankind. Edward Keating,
 ed. 10 B St., S. W., Washington, D. C.

LIFE AND LABOR BULLETIN (monthly) Sub. \$1.00
 Covers activities of National Women's Trade Union
 League of America and some happenings in Labor
 Movement. 311 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS' JOURNAL (monthly)
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 806 Engineers'
 Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio. Albert Coyle, ed. \$1.50

NEW LEADER, THE (weekly) \$2.00
 Official organ, Socialist Party, New Leader Assoc., 7 E.
 15th St., N.Y.C., James Oneal and Edward Levinson, eds.

ONE BIG UNION BULLETIN (weekly) \$2.00
 Canada's greatest labor paper. 54 Adelaide St., Winni-
 peg, Man., Canada. T. E. Moore, ed.

RAILWAY CLERK, THE (monthly) \$1.00
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight
 Handlers, Express and Station Employees. 704 Brother-
 hood of Railway Clerks Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Phil.
 E. Ziegler, ed.

ROAD TO FREEDOM, THE (monthly) \$1.00
 Exponent of Anarchist thought, work and literature.
 Stelton, N. J. Hippolyte Havel, ed.

WEEKLY PEOPLE \$2.00
 "Revolutionary Socialism—Industrial Unionism." Offi-
 cial organ Socialist Labor Party. 45 Rose St., N. Y. C.
 Olive M. Johnson, ed.

The Last Page

IN my undergraduate days there grew up on the campus an organization known as the Unpopular Club. Membership was confined to twelve students whose views on issues large and small had made them obnoxious one to another. After the charter members had formed the club, no vacancy was ever to be filled, under the terms of the constitution, except by an applicant who was unanimously blackballed. In order to reach an unpopular membership figure, the club provided one Honorary Membership, which was to be extended to that individual whose opinions represented the apotheosis of undesirability and were supremely detested by the twelve.

I was the first Honorary Member, elected without a single dissenting voice of approval.

* * *

We are coming so close to this procedure in Washington that I wonder why it would not be best to adopt such a plan openly as the form of our American government? Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, is overwhelmingly blackballed for public office by the voters of Minnesota, and is rewarded by promotion to a place where he can do more mischief still. Mr. William Howard Taft is blackballed by the voters of the entire country and he soon becomes Chief Justice of our Supreme Court with great opportunities to extend the scope of unpopular government. Mr. George Wharton Pepper, churchman and spender of huge sums to get re-elected to the Senate, is nevertheless defeated by Mr. Vare, and is talked of seriously, at once, for another place on the Supreme Court bench. This very minute, the government is wondering what great honor to offer the defeated Senator Wadsworth and many other victims of unpopularity in the recent elections. Our government is getting more and more like my Unpopular Club in practice, and why not honestly make theory conform? It would be fairer to ornithological accuracy if we eliminated the eagle as a symbol of our government, and substituted therefor the figure of a lame duck. And if we are to change to the lame duck symbolism, there is no species so expressive of our national spirit, I feel certain, as the American Golden-Eye.

* * *

AFEW impertinences . . .

The British deny that our new bombing plane, the Cyclops, is the largest in the world. They have one slightly larger. This will be a dreadful blow to those who boast about the superiority of our civilization . . .

Considering the record at home of the Harding administration and the adventures of the Coolidge regime in Nicaragua, Mexico, the Philippines, Panama, and elsewhere, you can't help wondering if this decade won't be spoken of by

historians as the "era of good stealing" . . .

Wonder how the advertising men are getting along in their efforts to "sell religion." A commodity which has been sold out so many times ought to go over pretty well at that. . . .

* * *

I HAVE always been interested in that peculiar trait of human nature which flowers forth in comments, more or less brilliant, on the margins of books borrowed from the shelves of libraries. The story has been told that one day when Josiah Royce and William James were teaching at Harvard, Royce discovered that he had mislaid his textbook, written by himself, and so he stepped over to borrow a copy of it from his friend James. As he was reading to his class from James's copy, he began to smile, and with a dry tone exclaimed to the students, "The marginal note says 'Damn fool!'"

Had I the time, I should like to collect a hundred thousand or so of these marginal notes, and examine them in the light of the psychology that would be new to James or Royce. One of the worst victims of *marginalis malignantis* I know of is John Haynes Holmes's *New Wars for Old*. Here is a book which, to my thinking, made itself a landmark. Herewith I present some of the sections of the book which drew forth readers' unrestrainable comments in the New York Public Library, together with the remarks of the marginal scrawlers—whose chirography, I regret, I am unable to reproduce.

"How wonderful, and how true as well, the picture which he painted. 'The wolf,' he (Isaiah) said, 'shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid.'" Marginal notation. *Good kid!*

"Take the old legend of the Roman Senators. When the Gauls climbed the hill and looked upon the aged men in their curule chairs, the story runs that they were so surprised and over-awed by the noble spectacle that they dropped their spears and shields, and one after another approached, like worshippers to a shrine, and stroked the snowy beards of the Senators with reverence." Marginal blasphemy: *What if they had been clean shaved?*

"There are reports that some socialists in Germany and Austria were shot to death because they would not answer the mobilization orders." Marginal bloodthirstiness: *Good!*

Exactly beside Dr. Holmes's book on the shelf, your inquisitive reporter found an estimable volume, issued at the same time, bound and printed equally well, written by one Master of Arts yclept Coulton, and entitled *The Main Illusions of Pacifism*. This, unlike the other, is not the least bit dog-eared, nor is there a single marginal comment to be found throughout its 300 pages of superior wisdom. The moral of which is, it is better to be stimulating, provocative, and read, than to be . . .

* * *

The news this month has been unusually foreboding. Let not yours hearts despair. In the words, or some of them, of the International Bible Students, millions now living will never—vote the straight Republican ticket.

ECCENTRICUS.

Great Portraits of Little People

III

The woman who thinks it is about time *somebody did* something about it.

For Group Discussion

These questions have been added to the information in this issue for those who are interested in challenging or testing the points of view represented by the contributors. Such interest can be largely enriched if a group can meet and discuss the points at which they differ in theory or practice with one another or with the convictions here presented. Within the compass of this magazine is the material for thought and reflection which will insure a group against the charge that the discussion lacks the information necessary for successful group thinking. The Editors have in mind college groups, young people's forums, church groups, women's clubs, etc. The World Tomorrow would like to have reports of such discussions in the form of open letters that might appear in the magazine from time to time. The Editors and Miss Loucks will welcome any criticisms or suggestions as to the usefulness of the questions.

The United States Faces the Indictment of Imperialism

I. Granting for the sake of discussion a desire on the part of the United States to contribute to the best development of the Philippines, where, as you use these data or any other to which you have access, would you say we had succeeded? Where failed? Why would you call each of your items positive or negative?

II. What would your sum of items show as to the validity or the intelligence of the assumption of our interest in their development? What is your criterion for your evaluation? Their material advantage? The economic advantage to the United States? The national self-consciousness of the Filipinos?

III. What would your knowledge of the attitude of the United States to Mexico, Nicaragua, contribute to your answer to No. II?

IV. What is the relation of economic freedom to the exercise of political freedom? What is the relation of the two in the Philippines at present? If the United States should withdraw at once? In five years? How could economic independence for the Philippines be assured in the kind of world in which we live?

V. In what is "romantic nationalism" (see Norman Thomas) rooted? What are its psychological bases? How can the desire for self-determination become a mature and cooperative dynamic? What does education for self determination involve for a child? a parent? a weaker nation? a stronger one?

VI. Trace in any specific cases you know the genesis and development of a policy of nationalism, i.e., in India, South Africa, Egypt, the Philippines. What are the economic results? The psychological results? The spiritual values? Which to you is preferable—the conditions of a benevolent imperialism or the blundering efforts of independence? For your own country? For a less mature people? Why?

VII. Upon what experience in any field with which you are familiar can you count for light in solving the conflict between romantic nationalism and profit seeking imperialism?

VIII. Would a consistent and cooperative policy of the self-development of backward peoples mean an economic sacrifice for the more developed? What is the relation of the Kingdom of Heaven as you conceive it and the American standard of living?

IX. Who gives the world the answer on the indictment of imperialism in relation to our Philippine policy? Our policy with Mexico? Nicaragua? Where do you and your group share in the answer given? The responsibilities incurred by the answer?

What have you done in the last six months to influence the answer one way or the other? What could you do immediately? As part of a process of education?

GRACE H. LOUCKS

With World Tomorrow Co-operators

AS you read through this Number 2 of Volume X, were you as thrilled as we are that we are making the 10th lap so successfully? Since October, when we changed from a 32 to a 48-page magazine, thinking we would be able to say all the things we needed to say to each other in the increased space, we have not had the regular column "WITH WORLD TOMORROW CO-OPERATORS." There just has not been space. We made a New Year's resolution about this column because it is probably the nicest column in the whole magazine. Isn't it strange that even with this good resolve we find ourselves on the last page of the magazine? We hope to move up nearer the front with each issue.

IN these modern days when every time we utter a word someone says "define your terms," we hasten to discuss with ourselves what we mean by "co-operators." With nine years of experience in cooperation, we know that there are four things we all must do: First, read and criticize the magazine both constructively and destructively so that we can all build a better magazine. Second, subscribe for The World Tomorrow for friends and neighbors and secure subscriptions from people who are interested. Third, make a contribution to the sustaining fund of The World Tomorrow. Fourth, Buy our books through The World Tomorrow Book Shop. We can send you any book published; your order will receive immediate attention; you will pay no more than the regular retail price; and we will make money. Isn't that good business?

AFTER a definition of terms there is always an outline of the situation as it stands. We have been able to skin along in the last five months on the money our friends sent in. The time has come now when all our old friends and co-operators must chip in if we are to survive the financial stress. As always, we earn a considerable percentage of our total budget; but that margin so hard to raise comes from friends old and new who give in amounts varying from \$5.00 to \$5,000. In this issue you have read a good deal about The World Tomorrow and what people think of it and you have read about the Book Shop. If you believe, as you always have, in the venture, will you consider doubling your gift this year? And if you have not given to the budget of The World Tomorrow will you join the ranks now by sending \$5.00 or more this month? We urgently need your help.

THE following gifts are necessary to enable us to publish the only kind of journal which is worthy of our readers.

WILL YOU BE

One of 100 Co-operators to give from	\$100 to \$500
One of 100 Co-operators to give from	25 to 100
One of 100 Co-operators to give from	10 to 25
One of 200 Co-operators to give from	5 to 10

The World Tomorrow
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York, N. Y.

I desire to become a World Tomorrow Co-operator, and pledge \$..... Check enclosed.

Name

Address

City and State

In order to help insure the permanence of The World Tomorrow and to reduce overhead expense of securing funds, I agree to make this an annual pledge for three years payable.....

Signed

Easy Altruism

OUR BOOK SHOP is a source of support for THE WORLD TOMORROW. We need every cent of income we can get through this service. You want the new and good books. You buy them regularly anyway. We want you to buy them through us. There is no simpler way. The books are sent you, parcel-post prepaid, at the regular retail price. They arrive at your door with the minimum amount of effort on your part and at no extra expense. Your order is filled the day we receive it. Make a habit of ordering all your books through THE WORLD TOMORROW Bookshop.

The Outline of Marriage, by Floyd Dell. 25c. This outline makes its first and best point in connection with the extra-reproductive as well as reproductive uses of marriage.

Mitya's Love, by Ivan Bunin. \$2.00. (Translated from the French by Madelaine Boyd.) In the form of a French "nouvelle" this Russian spring song is tender in its beginning but develops with fatal velocity to the final sharp discord.

Kiddush Ha-Shem, by Sholom Ash. \$2.00. (Prayer singing.) This is a fervent narrative vindication of the Jewish point of view, its historical basis being the anti-Hebrew activities of the Cossacks and the Tartars in 1648. It is valuable for its interpretation of Judaism.

Martin Hanner, a Comedy, by Kathleen Freeman. \$2.50. A first novel. Delightful comedy in the Meredithian sense; written with distinguished simplicity.

Galahad, by John Erskine. \$2.50. In his books *Helen of Troy* and *Galahad*, John Erskine casts an oblique light on cherished conventions. He brings mythic figures up to date. This latest book has been stripped clean of emotion. Many of us find it wholly delightful.

Everybody's Pepys. \$3.50. Neat, tight and tidy—our libraries, like our lives, are abridged. Now comes a one volume edition of the Pepys diary. Illustrated by E. H. Shepherd.

Read 'Em and Weep, by Sigmund Spaeth. \$4.00. The Songs you Forgot to Remember. A valuable collection with words and music of the most amusing songs of our fathers and grandfathers and forefathers at the piano and in the music room.

This Is Glory, by Leonie Amenoff. \$2.50. A novel of Napoleon's triumphal days.

Preface to a Life, by Zona Gale. \$2.00. This is the story of a small town family. The central character finds his love and his honor in opposition and tries to adapt himself to the second best, suffers maladjustment, and finally works out his own inner



salvation. It is a strong story that grows out of this struggle of the hero to reconcile his personal ambitions and ideals to the course of conduct expected of him by those to whom he is bound by ties of blood and by moral obligation.

Laissez-faire and Communism, by John Maynard Keynes. \$1.00. This is the fifteenth title in The New Republic's series of dollar books.

The Nature of the World and Man. \$4.00. By sixteen members of the faculty of the University of Chicago. This book attempts to present an outline of our knowledge of the physical and biological world and to show the position of man in the universe in which he lives. This book is the result of an orientation course instituted in the university for its A grade students. The present volume will be followed by a similar one on the social sciences.

Essays in Popular Sciences, by Julian Huxley. \$4.00. These essays discuss each an aspect of the problem of heredity. It has been heralded as biology's latest answer to the problems of evolution and life. Illustrated.

The Meaning of a Liberal Education, by Everett Dean Martin. \$3.00. What is worth knowing? Does knowledge really help? What do people expect to become when they set out to improve their minds? All sorts of things are called education. What is it? This book does not discuss schools or colleges or methods of instruction. It deals with the growing interest of people in education as a gospel of self improvement and social salvation.

Turkey, by Arnold J. Toynbee and Kenneth P. Kirkwood. \$3.00. After a brief historical account, the book follows the story of the events of the past seven years, the revolution, the rise of the Nationalist Party, the Greco-Turkish War, the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate and the establishment of the Republic. It is a book of Turkey of today.

Adventurous Religion, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. \$2.00. Essays on religion. Their unifying background is the perplexing and challenging religious situation in America, created in part by the rise of fundamentalism, which has provoked so widespread and popular interest alike within and without the churches. Neither in intention nor in tone are the papers controversial, but they have been written with the American churches clearly in mind, and with a desire, if possible, to help interpret a situation which must cause grave anxiety to all who are interested in the fortunes of religion.

Adventures on the Borderlands of Ethics, by Richard C. Cabot, M. D. \$2.00. All who are interested in modern ethical problems—especially physicians, teachers, social workers, ministers and business men—will find stimulus and inspiration in this volume. Ranging from his plea for a clinical year in the course of theological study for the purpose of applying religious beliefs for human betterment, Dr. Cabot goes on to discuss the ethics of medicine and certain other professions intimately associated with the moral and spiritual needs of our times.

THESE or any other book in print sent you at regular retail price. We pay postage.

WORLD TOMORROW BOOKSHOP, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City